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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

We regret the delay in bringing out the second number of Journal of Tamil Studies. The unprecedented power cut has upset all our plans. With the restoration of power and the coming of new seasons our hopes blossom again. We, therefore, request our readers to bear with us.

The Article of Prof. Karl H. Menges appears as it is, in this number.

Readers are welcome to offer their Notes and Comments. They will be published along with the reply from the authors, if relevant.

Articles in Tamil language are also welcome. They may follow the style adopted in the Article included here.

CHIEF EDITOR

Is the European word for Pearl of Dravidian Origin?

Karl H. Menges

As soon as the knowledge of the Arabian and Indian Oceans spreads over the Occident, it becomes acquainted with a number of new peoples and things that previously were not known to it. Through trade and other ways of acquisition, Occidentals come into possession of objects the value of which often seemed immense as long as they only heard about them and were not yet in a position to purchase them. One of these numerous objects is the pearl, which at first appears as *Margarites*, mentioned, according to Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II, 159, by Plato's pupil Theophrastos (372-287 B.C.), later pupil and friend of Aristotle's. It is a term which generally is considered as deriving from Skr. *maňžarī* ' a little bud of a flower ; (>) pearl ' (cf. Schrader, l.c. ; BOISACQ, *Dict. étym. de la langue grècque*, *p*. 610). From Greek, this word comes first to Latin, *margarita*, and from there it soon spreads over Germanic, thus Gothic *marikreitus*, Anglo-Saxon *meregríot*, Old-Saxon *merigrīta*, *merigriota*, Old-High-German *merigrioẓ*, Middle-High-German *mergrieẓe*, all of which have undergone the strong influence of popular etymology interpreting the term as ' grit of the sea ; Meeresgries '. Quite some time later, one of the earlier forms of English *pearl*, French *perle*, Italian, Spanish *perla* etc. penetrates the languages of Europe and completely replaces the older term stemming from *margarites*. But in the Byzantine Empire and its cultural dependencies, *margarites* lives on (cf. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis*, s. v., e.g. ed. Lugduni, 1688, Col. 877.f) and is borrowed by neighbouring languages, as e.g. Armenian *margariṭ* and Middle-Persian *marvārīd̂* (cf. infra).

The Late-Latin (or Vulgar-Latin, resp.) prototype of the new word which has not been found as yet is reconstructed as **perla*.

Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, lists *perlae*, n. pl. [e.g. ed. Halae (Halle), 1778, Vol. V, 252, or ed. by Henschel, 1883/7, Vol. VI, 277) ' margaritae, uniones ', but for the XIII century, Matth. Paris et Matth. Westmonast., anno 1255, also *pellae*, ' id. ', and peruli ' id. ', with the further remark : ' Casaubonus ad sat. 2 Persii observat margaritas infimae latinitatis scriptores vocare *perulas* vocemque extare apud veterem interpretem Horatii ' (details on this, however, are lacking) ; then, ' *perula* pro *sphaerula* dixisse veteres scribit ' (namely

Salmasius *in Notione ad Solinum*) ; cf. further on the forms quoted by R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, London, 1965, p. 344 ; *perla* a. 1204, 1622, *perla* ca. 1365, *pella* ca. 1250, *perlia* a. 1225, *perilla* a. 1315, 1404, *perula* a. 1240, 1431, '*pearl* ; mother of pearl, 13 c. ; bead, ca. 1322' ; also *parla*, a. 1365 ; etc., and, e.g., Maigne, *Lexicon manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, etc., Paris, 1866 : *perla*, passim, ' margarita, unio ; perle ', *perloci* ' margaritae, uniones ; perles ' (a. 1379). The later Romance forms such as Ital., Span. *perla*, French *perle*, are listed by Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, sub. no. 6418 *pĕrna* ' 1. Schinken ; ham ; 2. Art Muschel ; kind of a shell '. This would indicate at least two different homonymous etyma, but the semantics of the Romance words listed by Meyer-Lübke under *pĕrna* point to some further etyma underlying the given forms : sub *pĕrna* 1. ' Schinken ; ham ' : Old-Abruzzian, Old-Umbrian, Neapolitan, Sicilian *perna*, South-French *perno* ' auch knoblauchzehe ; also clove of garlic ', Béarn *perne*, Català *perna*, Span. *pierna*, Portug. *perna* ' Bein ; leg ', Logudorese (Sardinia) *per de la fa* ' Bohnenschote ; pod of the bean ', *fidende perra* ' Zwilling ; twin ', *Liège piële* ' Balken unter dem Schiffsboden ; beam under the bottom of a ship ' ; as derivatives e.g. Ital. *perno* ' Haspen ; hasp, hinge ; Scharnier ; hinge, joint ; Zapfen ; plug, peg ', Català *pern* (> Span. *perno*) ' Zapfen ; plug, peg ', Port. *perno* ' Bolzen ; bolt ', Provençal *pern* ' Nagel mit grossem Kopf ; nail with big head ', South-Fr. *perna* ' der Länge nach spalten ; to split alongside ', *perno* ' Riss ; cleavage ', *pernil* ' Kinderhose ; children's trousers ', Catalá *pernil* ' Schinken ; ham ', and a few more forms. Under section 2, ' kind of a shell ', there are listed : Sicil. *perna*, *Neapol. perne* ' pearl ', and as derivatives : Ital. *perla* (> Fr. perle, Provenç., Catal., Span. *perla*, Port. *perola*), Ital. *pernocchia* ' Perlmuschel ; pearl-shell '. After this follows a number of further words which hardly have any etymological connection with either *pĕrna* 1. or *pĕrna* 2, as e.g. Prov. *perna* ' Windel ; swaddling clothes ' ; ' Kopftuch ; kerchief ', South-Fr. *perno* ' Lätzchen ; bib ; Haube ; cap, coif ' ; Catal. *pernoliar* [> Campidanian (Sardin.) *pernuliai*] ' die Letzte ' Ölung geben ; to administer Extreme Unction ' ; concerning all these latter words, also Meyer-Lübke states they are ' begrifflich nicht verständlich ; conceptually unintelligible ' (as to *pernoliar*, this contains, of course, Lat. *oleum* ' oil ' in the second part of the compound). It is not clear at all how Ital. *perla* and its forms in the other Romance languages should be understood as ' derivative ' of *perna* ; perhaps as a diminutive in *-ola* : **pĕrnola*? Could it be the result of a liquida-assimilation *-rn->-rl-*, or is, inversely, Sic. *perna*, Neapol, *perne̜* ' pearl ' rather the product of a liquida-dissimilation, *-rl->-rn-* ? This latter would have to be assumed if Late-Latin *perla* is to be supposed as prototype. According to Dauzat, *Dict. étym.*, 3rd ed., p. 549, Fr. *perle* is attested from the XIII century on, and is ' apparently borrowed from It. *perla*, Neapol. *perna* ', and an alteration ' of Lat. *perna* " pinne marine, coquillage perlier".'

Corominas, *Dicc. critíco etim. de la lengua Castellana*, III (Berne, s. a. [ca 1956], pp. 745-747), offers a detailed critical discussion of the attempts made hitherto concerning the etymology of this term, but does not reach any solution ; his conclusion is that *perla* probably comes from **pĕrnula* etc. ; it is attested since the end of the XIII century, meaning ' perla, grande aljófar, unio ' ; according to Corominas, the Italian and French forms are likewise attested since the XIII century, the Old-High-German forms earlier, since the XI (this is probably a misprint for IX, cf. infra) ; *perla* completely replaces *aljófar* in Old-Catala and Portuguese. [This *aljofar* ' precious stone ' is < Arabic *al-gōhar*, *al-gauhar*, itself a loanword from Pers. *gauhar*, *gōhar* ; cf. also Meyer-Lübke, no. 3945, where this etymon is simply designated as ' Arabic ']. Schrader, l. c., assumes for Old-High-German *pĕrala* ' pearl ' (and the other Germanic forms), which appears much later than the above-mentioned Greek loanword *margarites*, as prototype, the Latin diminutive **pirula* ' Birnchen ; little pear '—to which Venezia, Padova *péroli*, etc., ' birnenförmiges Ohrgehänge ; pear-shaped eardrops ', Venezia *pérolo* ' Eiszapfen ; icicle ' are traced back by Meyer Lübke, no. 6523, with a reference, in parenthesis, to the older etymology deriving from it Ital. *perla* ' pearl ' as had been proposed by Diez, *Etym. Wörterbuch der roman. Spr.*, 4th ed., Bonn, 1878)—and in support of this derivation Schrader quotes Plinius ' extensive passage on this subject in *Historia naturalis*, IX, 106 ff., where the comparison with pears is made. Schrader might have added that also in modern French some pearls are called because of their shape *perle en poire*. This would clearly indicate the existence not only of a Vulgar-Latin, but of a Classical Latin form with *l*, such as **pirula* or a very similar one. For *pirula*, *pirrula*, only the meaning of ' extremitas, extremitas nasi ; le bout du nez ' is listed by Ducange (op. cit., 1778 ; V, 312). Kluge and Mitzka, in the *Etymol. Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 17th ed., 1957, p. 538, 19-th ed., 1963 p. 538 sub *Perle*, state that this word was borrowed in the IX century from Vulgar Latin **perla*, and that this is considered as a cross-bread<Lat. *pĕrna* ' kind of a shell ' plus *sphaerula* (Latin dimin. of Gr. Sphaira) ' kleine Kugel ; little ball '. The various German forms are listed eg. in Grimm's large dictionary, *Deutsches Worterbuch*, *Perle* with numerous derivatives (e.g. in the edition of von Lexer, 1889, vol. VII, col. 1547-1560), with the remark ' probably for *pirula* "little pear ", so called after its shape ' (with reference to Diez, *Roman. Et. Wb.*—cf. supra), but also the older *berle*, as in Middle-High-German, vol. I, col. 1525, with the Old-High-German *perala*, *berala* [Graff, 3, 247 (a misprint for 3, 347.—K.H.M.)], with an attempt at a different etymology : ' the derivations of Rom. *perala* from *perula* ' *parva pera* ' of *pirula*, *pilula* for *sphaerula* are little satisfactory indeed ' ; after quoting Ducange, the brothers Grimm propose a derivation of OHG *perala* etc. from *peri* ' bacca ; berry '. From the IX century on, a variety of forms is found in the OHG glosses on Latin texts, as quoted by Eberhard Gottlieb Graff, *Altho-chdeutscher Sprach*

schatz Berlin 1834-1842, vol. III, p. 347 ; *berala* ' berillus ' (Homil. St. Gregory, Cod. St.—Gall., IX cent.), *peralun* ' diadragma ' (Glossae Monseens. Lectionrii, IX cent. Gloss. in Lectionar., Cod. Emeram., XI cent.), *perela* ' calculus (concharum) ', (gloss. in Prudentii Carmin. Cod of the Ratsbibliothek in Berne, IX/X cent.), *peralono*, g. pl., ' concharum ' (gloss. in Prudentii Carm., Cod. Emmeram., X cent.), *berelon* ' id. ' (gloss. in Prudentii Carm; Ratsbibl. Berne, IX/X cent.), *perula* ' unio ' (Old-Low-German glosses to the Books of Jesaias and Jeremias in the Viennese Cod. 259, of the X cent.), *berla* ' uniones ', acc. pl., (OHG translation of Boetius' *De Consolatione Philos.*, Cod. St.-Gallen., X/XI cent.), *perla* ' unio ' (in a Strassburg Codex of the XI/XII cent.).

Walde and Hofmann, *Lat. Etym. Wb.*, 3rd ed., II, 289 f., do not give sub *perna* the meaning of ' a kind of a shell ', but Ernout and Meillet, list it s. v. as secondary, ' sorte de coquillage, huître perilêre ; kind of a shell, pearl-oyster ', with the remark ' without doubt called thus because of its shape '. This latter explanation is hardly convincing, and thus, ever since Ducange, some scholars preferred to assume in Late-Latin **perla*, Ital. etc. *perla* a contamination of *perna* with *sphaerula*. But why should this derivation be preferable to that by Diez and Schrader from Lat. **pirula* ' little pear ', especially since Plinius had made the comparison with pears ? Also *perna* is listed by Ducange in the plural only, *pernae* (ed. Halae, 1778, V, 253) in the expression *pernae concharum*—with reference to Plinius, lib. 32.-, and the further remark : ' quos inde *perlas* vocamus '. Faute de mieux, however, those constructions seemed acceptable.

Nevertheless, the etymology of the term for pearl has not become more transparent. It bears all the signs of a cultural word, of a borrowing, a lexical late-comer in the area of the Western Mediterranean, which seems to have been adopted by Latin at the beginning of the imperial age. With and after its borrowing which was made, without doubt, not only at one time and in one spot, it was subjected to a certain assimilation process which was effected, as it could not have been otherwise, with the means of popular etymology. Without this, the term would have remained alien, foreign in Greek terminology, *barbaron*. As the pearl originates from the tropical seas, from the ancient cultures of Southern Asia bordering on the Arabian and Indian Oceans, we have to search for the origin of this term in one of these cultures, and there, it is India which came into contact with the Classical Occident through the conquests of Alexander the Great, during the time of the Roman Empire, perhaps already under the Roman Republic, but manifestly at the time of imperial monarchy, during which the Occident already had less nebulous ideas about India. Even direct contacts must have occurred with Aryan as well as with Dravidian India, however still too little is known about them.

But also prior to the shift of power and expansion from Rome to Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire, objects of trade from Southern Asia, particularly India, begin to appear in the West. One of them was the pearl.

After it had at first been known under a form that has some relationship with Skr. *mañžari,* later it is traded in the West in the guise of a term that somehow resembled Latin **pirula* or **perula* and that, by its phonetic resemblance and ensuing semantic interpretation was soon semantically connected with it. Certainly, the Dravidian South of the Subcontinent of India must have been engaged in pearl-fishing more than the Aryan North, likewise were the Dravidians, or, at least, some Dravidian peoples, whose lands bordered on the sea, greater seafarers than their Aryan neighbours in the North. At the time of European colonial expansion, the Tamils were well-known for their navigation, and this was certainly true also for earlier times. This would convincingly suggest a Dravidian origin of the term for ' pearl '. The latter was not the usual Dravidian etymon Tamil, *muttu, muttam* ' pearl, tear, castor-bean, oil-seed, etc.' (DED., 4062) to which I shall return later on, the etymon underlying the European term seems to have been Tamil *paral* ' pebble, seed, stone of fruit ', *parukkai, parukkai-kal* ' small pebbles ', *paru-maṇal* ' grit, sandstone ', Mal. *paral* ' grit, coarse grain, gravel, cowry shell ', Kōta *parl* ' pebble, one grain (of any grain) ', Kann. *paral, paraḷ* ' pebble, stone ', Kodagu *para* ' pebble ', Tulu *pereḷu* ' grain of sand grit, gravel '; grain of corn etc. ; *par(a)pu* ' a sandbed ', to which the Supplement adds Kōlāmī parca ' gravel ', with a reference to Tamil *aralai* (DED., no. 172) ' stone broken for roads ', Toda *arl* ' jackstraws, pebbles used for counters ', evidently to be considered, in view of the lenition of *p->ϕ—(zero) as Kannada loanwords there, and further to Singalese *boralu* ' gravel, pebbles ', a Dravidian, most probably Tamil loan word in Singhalese. The Dravidian term can have been borrowed by the Europeans on the Malabar as well as on the Coromandel Coast. As long as we do not have any detailed information about the sea-trade in which Dravidian peoples engaged in the times of the Roman Empire, it is impossible to trace **pirula, *perula* to one single Dravidian language ; it might have been taken from Tamil as well as from Kannada or Malayalam. On the semantic side, at least one of the connotations of *paral,* ' grit ', links it with the Old-Germanic popular interpretation ' *marikreitus, meregríot* : " sea-grit " ' as well as with the Aryan Ancient Indian term kṛśána- ' pearl ', used in Vedic times as ornament and amulet, which Charpentier, *Beiträge zur mittelindischen Wortkunde*, ZDMG, LXXIII, 149, equates with Gr. kroke, krokale ' Kiesel am Meeresufer ; pebble on the sea-shore ', but which disappears in the post-Vedic period and is replaced by *muktā* ; Charpentier derives *kṛśána-* as well as *śárkarā* ' grit, etc. ; (>) sugar ', > *Pāli sakkara,* from the same Indo-European root **qerk-* (**qerk-*)/**kerq-*, with vacillation in the quality of the velars,—

while BOISACQ, op. cit., p. 519, unfortunately without referring to Charpentier's article, seems to prefer a comparison only with Skr. *śárkarah, śárkarā* which he derives from Skr. sṛṇāti ' briser ; to smash', assuming a possible connection of this with a velar root, IE **sqel-* ' fendre, briser ; to split, crush' (from which Lat. *siliqua* ' gousse ; shell pod ' < **sciliqua*, Old-Church-Slavic *skolbka* ' ostreum ; oystor '). Skr. *muktā* which later replaces the older term kṛśána- and its vṛdd 'i-derivative *mauktika* live on in Middle-Indian, Pāli and Prakṛt, *mutta*, and in the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Hindustani and Bengali *muktā* ' pearl ', as a Skr. loan word, besides Hindustani, Urdu *mōti* which at present seems to be more in use than the former ; the Hindi-Russian Dict. by Beskrovnyj and Barannikov, Moscow 1953, lists only the compound *muktāvali*, žemčužnoje ozerelje ; pearl-necklace ' (p. 846), not the simplex but its derivative, *mauktik* ' žemčug ; pearl ' (p. 864), and otherwise only *mōti* 'id. ' (862), the genuine Hindi and Urdu form (cf. also e.g. Platts, Urdu-Engl. Dict., pp. 1057, 1086). As synonyms, marvārīd (<Pers., cf. infra), *lūlū* (<Arab. *lu'lu'*), *durr* (<Ar.), and metaphorically, *lakšmi* and other terms were used in Hindustani and/or Urdu (cf. Platts, 1026, 970, 959 ; Muḥammad Ḥasan al-'A'ẓami, *Al-Ma ' žamu- ' l-A'zam, Arabi-Urdū Luyat*, Karāčī, s. a., vol. IV, p. 2546, and, last but not the least, Sir R. L. Turner, *Indo-Aryan Comparative Dict.*, nos. 10365 and 10152, where all modern IE Indian forms are listed).

The etymology of *mukta* has been discussed by Lüders, KZ XLII, 1909, pp. 193-206, and *Philologica Indica*, 1940, pp. 179-190, who considers the derivation of the word (e.g. by Uhlenbeck in the Et. Dict. of Ancient-Indian) as partic. praet, pass. of *muč-/muk-*, while formally acceptable (*mukta* ' loosened, let loose, set free ', e.g. Platts, 1057), as unsatisfactory with regard to its content, and its semantics. *Muktā*, says Lüders, is an erroneous, artificial Sanskritization of Middle Indian *muttā* ' die Erstarrte ; having grown hard, numb, stiff ' or *mūrč-ati* ; in support of this statement he adduces numerous examples from Middle-Indian literature. Further on, Lüders points out the fact that while the partic. prt. pass. of muč/muk is in Pāli *mutta*, rarely also *mukka*, ' pearl ' is in Palī and Prākrt always only *muttā, muttika*, and *mōttia*, i.e. it is no part. prt. pass of *muč-*. The pearl is viewed as a hardened, stiffened, congealed drop of a liquid, a frozen drop of water, an icicle, etc. So far Lüders. Whatever its etymology, Pāli and Prākṛt *muttā* cannot be separated from Dravidian, Tamil *muttu* ' pearl, tear, castor-bean, oil-seed (*as castor, rape, etc.*), succulent seed of pomegranate, a goldsmith's weight, seeds or shells, etc., used in games, that which is excellent or praiseworthy ', *muttam* ' pearl, castor-bean, a superior quality of emerald ', *muruntu* ' pearl ' ; Mal. *muttu* pearl, kernel (cf. *muru* ' oyster ') ; Kota *mut* ' woman's ear-ring ' ; Toda *mut* ' pearl ' ; Kann. *muttu, mutja* ' id. ' ; Kodagu *mutty* ' id. ' ; Tulu *muttu* ' id. ' ; 'a drop ' ; Telugu *muttijamu, muttemu, mutjamu* ' pearl ' (DED., 4062 ; with reference

to Skr. *muktā*, *mauktika-*, Pāli, Prkṛ. *muttā*). To this word-family belongs also DED. 4064, Tamil *muttu* ' pock of smallpox, pustule ', *mutti* ' yellow spreading spots on the breasts of women ' ; Mal. *mutukkan* ' pimple, blotch ', *muttačči* ' small red pimples on the body of infants ' ; Tulu *mutteri* ' a kind of skin eruption ', *muddăṇu*, *muddaṇụ* ' pimples or blotches on the face ' ; kui *mūtenzji* ' mole, birthmark, wart, corn '. Burrow and Emeneau do not connect etymologically these two groups of words. Conerning *muttu* etc. ' pearl, etc. ' they abstain, from any hint as to their opinion on the relationship of the Dravidian to the Indo-Aryan etymon. Gundert and Kittel considered Skr. *muktā* as loanword from Drav. *muttu*, as Lüders mentions in a footnote to his above article (p. 197, n. 5, or 183, n. 4, resp.). Lüders rejects this hypothesis on the grounds that muttu ' cannot be explained satisfactorily from within Dravidian ', and he concludes that muttu is a Prakṛt loan-word in Dravidian. In part VII, ' Glossarial affinities ', of his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3 ed., 1913, Bishop Caldwell quotes, without referring to the above article of Lüders, under ' Words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages ', from Gundert's list of probable Dravidian borrowings in Sanskrit also *muktā* (p. 577 f.), with the remark that ' probably both, Sanskrit and Tamil words are from *mut*, the equivalent of Tamil *mudal* " first " ; root *mu* or *mi*, " to be first—the first of gems ".' This etymology would concern DED., nos. 4053/4, Tamil *mutal*, etc., ' basic cause, principle of everything, God ; first in rank ; base, foot, foundation, etc., etc. ', perhaps also 4057, Tam. *mutu* ' old, ancient ' etc., and no. 4119, Tam. *muṉ* ' prior, previous, in front ; eminence ; etc., etc. ', with numerous derivatives. This might perhaps be considered as a satisfactory etymology from within Dravidian, while a considerable difficulty remains inasmuch as it is impossible to judge—on purely linguistic grounds—whether this word for the ' pearl ' is based upon the view of its being ' the first of germs ', as Caldwell supposes, or ' the one having grown hard, having stiffened, congealed, etc. ', as *muttā* from *mūrč-*, Lüders' opinion, or whether Drav. *muttu* might derive from the same etymon as DED., no. 4065, Tam. *muttai* ' lump, large mass, boiled rice gathered into a ball ', *mottai* ' ball, round lump ', Kann. *muddi*, *mudde* ' a roundish mass, ball, roundish lump ; ragi porridge ' ; *moddu*, *maddu* ' lump, mass ', Tulu *mudde* ' lump, unshapen mass ' ; Telugu *mudda* ' lump, mass ; morsel, mouthful ', if it is originally viewed as something roundish, globular (cf. also the derivative Tam. *mutnata* ' kom, gtyba ; komoček, gorsť ; lump, clod, heap ; little clot, clod, ball ; handful ' (Pjatigorskij and Rudin, *Tamilskorusskij słovar*', Moscow, 1960, p. 1139). Turner, l. c., considers the Indo-Aryan word as a borrowing from Dravid. *muttu* ' pearl, etc. '. But as etymological research in Dravidian has now started, it will certainly be possible to explore further word families for their relationship with *muttu*. The possibility of the presence of a *taboo*-expression must not be excluded at all in this case, as found, e.g., in Tamil *muntu* ' former, earlier ; being in front, ahead ; antiquity' and *muntu*

'white heron' (Tamilskorusskij sl̇., 1139 ; this etymon belongs to the group in DED., 4119).

But also the Dravidian word *muttu* 'pearl, etc.' would seem to have found its way to European languages, evidently in composition with *paral* etc. This compound, Tamil **paral muttu* or similar forms, could have been taken over, through intermediaries or without them, by European traders, it likewise has been assimilated and lives on, like pearl, in the modern languages : this is New-High-German *Perlmutter*, Late-Middle-High-German *bërlînmuoter*, modern Dutch *parelmoer*, Middle-Dutch *moer Van perle*, NE *mother of pearl*, Danish *perlemor*, Swedish *pärlemo* (r), and correspondingly, Italian *madreperla* (not in Meyer-Lübke), French *mèreperle* (neither in Meyer-Lübke, nor in Dauzat), a term which is generally considered a loan-translation, calque, of Middle-Latin *mater perlarum*. This term is not found as derived from or compounded with margarites, thus, Armenian e.g. has *margartagojn* for 'mother of pearl', basically meaning 'pearl-like ; more like pearl'. In view of the great probability of the provenance of the words for pearl from the South of the Subcontinent of India, the Middle-Latin term *mater perlarum*—which, by the way, is not found in Ducange's Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis—would rather have originated on the basis of a Germanic transmission of the word in which Dravidian muttu alone or as the second part of the compound was associated with the word for 'mother' being in its Germanic form much closer to the Dravidian prototype assumed ; only later, it was passed on to the Romance peoples who literally translated the Germanic expression.

The Tibetan terms are *mú-tig* 'pearl' (also in compositions, e.g. *mú-tig-p'ren*, 'string of pearls'), loanword from Indo-Aryan, Prakrt *múttika* 'id.', and *mu-t 'i-la* 'mother of pearl' (Jäschke, *Tibetan Engl. Dict.*, 416—other Tibetan terms for this are *nja-lčibs* and *nja-p 'jis*, properly 'fish-gills', ibid., 184) which latter, in spite of a possibly related etymon, *mu-mén* 'a precious stone of a dark blue, yet inferior to the azure-stone, occasionally used for rosaries' (ibidem) cannot be separated from *mú-tig*, M.-Ind. *muttā* and derivatives, and Drav. *muttu*.

Greek Margarites or Margaris with the parallel forms Margaros m. et f., Margaron, Margaritis-idos and Margaris-idos appears as loanword already in Pahlavī, *marvārīd*, with -v- for - γ/ g- in Greek, as sporadically also proto- or common-Iranian γ/g may in Middle-Iranian appear as *v* (cf. C. Salemann, *Mittelpersisch*, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, I, 1, p. 260, § 21 d where Pahlavī *marvārīd* is quoted among the examples) ; accordingly, its New-Persian form is *marvārid*. From Persian, this word spread to some Turkic languages, such as Osman, Čagataj, New-Ujjur, Qazaq, and Qyrγyz. The Greek form is also the prototype of Armenian *margarit̂* (cf. Hübschmann, Armen. Gramm., I, p. 363), the usual word

for pearl, Lokotsch, *Etym. Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, 1927, sub. no. 1416, with reference to Vollers' *Beitrage zur Kenntnis der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten*, ZDMG, LI, 303 f., considers the Greek word as the source of Arabic *marǯān* 'coral' which underlies a number of European terms (cf. Lokotsch, ibidem), but some difficulty remains in view of the meaning 'pearl' of *Margarites* as well as of the phonetic form. Vollers (l. c.) says that *marǯān*, in Aegyptian Arabic *murgān*, 'red coral', was borrowed via Aramaeic probably from Margarites—this is less definite than it appears in Lokotsch's version. The immediate prototype of the Arabic word seems to be an Aramaeic form or Syriac *margānīṯā* 'pearl' Further on, in Arabic, at least in loanword usage, quite often no clear distinction seems to be made between 'pearl' and 'coral', as can be seen from the occasional meaning 'pearl' of Arabic *marǯān*, e.g. in Persian, 'a small pearl, a coral' (Steingass, 1216—where this word is not designated as Arabic, or the explanation given by the Burhāni Qāṭi,< Osman translation publ, in Egypt, 1835, p. 564: *marž,ān* . . . . *'arabīdä bu isimlä ma 'rūf hazär ady dyr va lu lu-i syḷāra daxy den*ɣ*r, ja'nī ufaq inzü*—' *marzān* . . . . in Arabic, it is the term for a stone known under this name; it also is called "small pearl" '). The derivative *marzānī*, however, is given as 'of coral; coral' (Steingass, ib.). The other Arabic term for 'pearl', *lu' lu'*, shows the same semantic vaccillation, e.g. in the expression ɣ*arqu-l-lu'-lu'* i, properly 'submersion of pearl', which stands for 'coral' because it means 'madrepore' (strong branching corals; explained in Osman as *märžān qajaŧary* 'coral rocks', i.e. 'coral-reef' [cf. B. Z. Garabedjan, Osman-Armenian Dict., p. 714, 980; Sāmī-Bej, *Dict. Turc-Français*, p. 1284] the original meaning of the Armenian term, *k'arcmajr*, being 'stone-mother'—if here *majr* is not the homonymous etymon, '*cedar*, *pine*'—evidently a calque of the Fr. *madrépore* (attested, according to Dauzat, only from 1710 on) and It. *madrepora*, not listed by Meyer-Lübke, a term which might well be the result of an assimilation by popular etymology like **perula*, **pirula* and '*mother of pearl*'.

In Altajic, the usual term for pearl comes from East-Asia: Turkic has in Ancient-Turkic *jinčü*, with Mahmūd al-Kāšɣari *jinču* and *ǯinǯü*, elsewhere it is *inzu*, *inči*, *nāndi tindi* etc., in Mongolian žinźu, etc., and is a rather early loan word Chinese *čžĕn-čž,u<* 'genuine pearl' which through Proto-Bulgarian mediation has found its way into Slavic, Old-Church-Slavic, Old-Russ. zbnbcjugb, etc., Russ. *ǯémčug*, where it has become the general term for pearl in East-Slavic, known also in Serbo-Croatian (cf. Vasmer, *Russ. Etym. Wörterbuch*, I, 418; in detail, Menges, *Oriental Elements in the Old-Rudsian Igoŕ-Tale*, p. 25 f.).

For the strengthening of the above hypothesis it will be important to obtain examples of the postulated type from the wealth of Dravidian vocabulary and literature. For this, I have to rely upon the help of my Dravidological and Dravidian colleagues.

Is the Tamil Alphabet System an Adaptation?

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

The earliest known script, used for Tamil, as far as our present knowledge goes seems to be related to the so-called Brahmi script, which was utilised by Asoka to write down the *Prākṛit* languages, naturally, so modified as to suit the sound system of Tamil language, as is proved by the old Tamil cave inscriptions and the Arikamedu graffiti.[1] The later Tamil inscriptions in all its varieties is traced to this script, by the Epigraphists and others.

The earliest work now known, on Tamil grammar dealing partly with orthography is *Tolkāppiyam*, whatever the age one may assign to it. The question is whether from the descriptions of a few graphemes in that old grammar, one can conclude that the author knows of the script abovementioned. Fortunately, there is a clue, though he describes the form of only a few graphemes. *Tolkāppiyam* describes certain graphemes which were written with *puḷḷi* (புள்ளி), a dot or a small stroke, namely the pure consonants, the letters *e* (எ), *o* (ஒ) and the *makarakkuṟukkam* respectively[2]. When we study the form of other vowels in Tamil, except in the case of *e* and *o* in ancient times, it is the long vowels which get additional marks to differentiate them from the short vowels, making the form of the short vowel primary or basic. This ought to have been the case with the middle vowels. One would therefore expect the short *e* and *o* to have the basic forms as in the current writing system of Tamil and the long vowels to be differentiated by additional marks. But this is not so. The basic forms denote the longer vowels *ē* and *ō* and a dot is added to each one of them to denote their shorter variety namely *e* and *o*. This is the significance of Cūtram 16.

What is the significance of this statement? The script should have been adapted from a language where the *ē* and *ō* were basic because there were no short *e* and *o* available in that language. When that script is adapted to Tamil one has to find a way of denoting *e* and *o* which are phonemes in Tamil. Therefore, a distinguising mark namely a *puḷḷi* was put on short *e* and *o*.

The arrangement of the letters in the Tamil alphabet system also shows that the scripts were adapted from some other system. The letters common to that system and Tamil are first enumerated and there-

after the additional letters for the pure Tamil sounds are added. The only exception seems to be that of *e* and *o* where the short vowels though unique to Tamil, preceded the corresponding long vowels.

Is there any clue to find out the Tolkāppiyar's alphabetic system? Fortunately there are. The first Cūtram definitely states that the system begins with *a* (அ) and ends with the alveolar nasal *ṉ* (ன). But what about the intervening sounds? The vowels do not create much trouble, if we assume the short vowels preceded their corresponding long vowels as at present.[3] One can assume, even here, the plosives preceded their homorganic nasals. The fact that the alveolar nasal ended the list is an additional clue, though may not be conclusive. The additional consonantal sounds in Tamil are the alveolar plosive (ற) which is now pronounced as a trill intervocally and as *dr* after the nasal and as *ṭr* when geminated and the alveolar nasal (ன), the retroflex voiced groove spirant (ழ) and doubtfully the retroflex lateral (ள). The arrangement of the plosives and nasals shows that alveolars[4] were given the last place though in any order based on place of articulation it should be as follows :—Velars (க, ங), palatals (ச, ஞ), retroflexes (ட, ண), alveolars (ற, ன), dentals (த, ந) and labials (ப, ம). The only explanation can be that in adapting another system the additional sounds were made to come at the end.

Describing the articulation of sounds, Tolkāppiyar first describes velar, palatal, retroflex and the dental stops. But before describing the labials he describes the consonants in articulating which the tip of the tongue makes certain movements upward : namely in Cūtram 94 the alveolar plosive and nasal (ற, ன); in Cūtram 95 r (ர), ḻ (ழ); in Cūtram 96, l (ல), ḷ (ள) ; before describing in Cūtram 97 the labials ; in Cūtram 98 labio-dentals ; and in cūtram 99 y (ய). This order cannot be taken to be the order of sounds in his alphabetic system since he has definitely stated in the first Cūtram and also in Cūtram 9 that the alveolar nasal comes at the very end. The retroflex voiced groove spirant (ழ), the retroflex lateral (ள) which is not a phoneme in the other system, and the alveolar stops being sounds not found in the other system may come at the very end. That is why the alveolar stops do not follow other stops but follow the semi-vowels which come after the stops in the other system and which are common to Tamil as well. The order ya ra la va ḻa ḷa (யரலவழள) has a kind of feminine rhyme even as the enumerations of the plosives and nasals had.

This analysis of Tolkāppiyam seems to show that his alphabetic system was one adapted from a system used for some other language to which were added the unique Tamil sounds at the end. This will suggest probably Tolkāppiyar is speaking of the system found in the Tamil caves and at Arikamedu.

Naccinārkkiniyar in explaining the order of sounds in the Tamil alphabetic system states that the alveolar stops are placed at the end because they are unique Tamil sounds[5]. *Sivagnāna Swāmigal* states, in addition, to that ழ is also a unique Tamil sound and therefore it comes at the end followed by ள which is a free variant of l in Sanskrit[6]. Therefore our ancient commentators had known this peculiarity of the Tamil alphabetic system which we have tried to explain.

FOOT NOTES

1 ANCIENT INDIA No. 2, 1946, pp. 109-114.
SIVARAMAMURTHY, C. : *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, 1942, pp. 57-158.
MAHADEVAN, IRAVATHAM : *Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age, Procds. of the Second International Conference of Tamil Studies*, January, 1968, Madras, India, Volume I, p. 83.

2 *Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram*, Cut. 15, 16 & 14.

3 *Ibid.*, S. 3 & 4.

4 *Ibid.*, 19 & 20.

5 *Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram*, Naccinārkiniyar's Commentary, SISWP Society, Tinneveli, 1923, p. 27.

6 SIVAGNANA SWAMIGAL : *Tolkāppiyac cūttira Virutti*, Ed. Arumuga Nāvalar, Rattaksi Year, p. 22.

Tolkāppiyam—Eḻuttatikāram
Phonology

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

CHAPTER IV : *Chapter on Combination* [*of sounds*]

104. Of the three and thirty sounds
two and twenty occur initially
and six times four occur finally ;
all words end and begin
only with the two, consonants or vowels.

105. Among them,
all final consonants will be provided with dots.[78]

106. They say that the shortened *u* is like that.[79]

107. The final vocalized consonant
is of the same nature as the final vowel.

108. When [one] defines [rules] in the combination [of sounds][80]
which are concerned with those two—
the standing word[81] and the particular coming word—[82]
one should know these as such [which may be classified as]
when vowel follows a vowel-ending,
when consonant follows a vowel-ending,
when vowel follows a consonant-ending
[and] when consonant follows a consonant-ending.

109. Among those,
as the initial sound of the coming word unites
with the final sound of the standing word,
[and] as a noun joins a noun,[83]
[or] a noun joins a verb[84]
[or] a verb joins a noun
[or] a verb joins a verb,
there are four methods of word-sandhi[85]
in three [of which] change takes place[86]
and in one [of which] there is a no-change.[87]

110. And they,
according to what they say,
are : one sound changing into another,[88]
addition,[89] and loss.[90]

111. Even when the standing word and the coming word
occur with adjunct(s), they are eligible to sandhi.

112. Words whose fusion[91] and accumulation[92]
is sanctioned as *marūu*[93] do also occur
in the situation of juxtaposition.[94]

113. Words, juxtaposed in case-relation,[95]
as well as words juxtaposed in non-case relation,[96]
have either a sound[97] or an empty-morph,[98]
one of the two, inserted,
when sandhi takes place.

114. *ai oṭu ku iṉ atu kaṇ*,
those six are said to be case-morphs.[99]

115. Case-morphs beginning with occlusives
must double the non-vocalized consonant
in the appropriate place.[100]

116. The sound *a* of the sixth case-morph
must disappear following a final *a*.[101]

117. Case [-morphs] are joined to nouns following [them].

118. Nouns are pointed out to be of two types :
of the personal class[102] and of the non-class.[103]

119. The empty morph(s) come in the slots[104]
which follow them (*i.e.* the nouns).

120. And those indeed [like]
iṉ, *vaṟṟu*, *attu*, *am*,
oṉ, *āṉ*, *akku*, *ikku* [and]
aṉ including yet other words
are said to be such empty words.[105]

121. Among them
the sound *i* of *iṉ* will optionally disappear
after the final-*ā*.[106]

122. Before words denoting measure[107]
the *ṉ* [of *iṉ*] placed in the slot of the vowel
will be changed to *ṟ*.

123. After the words in *-ai* which begin with the demonstrative
[vowels] it is the usage to drop the consonant *v*
[of *vaṟṟu*] and let the *a* remain.[108]

124. *ṉ* is changed to *ṟ* before the fourth-case morph.[109]

125. The *ṉ* of *āṉ* is changed identically when it comes
between [a noun denoting] lunar constellation[110]
and a verb beginning with plosive.

126. *a* of *attu* disappears after *a*.[111]

127. *i* of *ikku* [is treated] in the same manner after *i*.[112]

128. Even after *-ai* [the *i* of *ikku*] is treated so.[113]

129. The final consonant of *akku* disappears when
[*akku*] is inserted between any noun and
[a word beginning] with plosive, [and]
the over-short *-u* [of *akku*] disappears completely.[114]

130. When the end of *am* occurs before *k*, *c*, *t*,
its consonant changes becoming *ṅ*, *ñ*, *n*.[115]

131. The scholars say that it (*i.e. m*) must disappear
when followed by a nasal or a semi-vowel.[116]

132. The empty morph *iṉ*[117] should disappear
when it occurs before the case-marker *iṉ*.[118]

133. When a noun is followed by a verb[119]
it is the nature of the empty morph to be inserted,
according to the rules of sandhi, between the base
and the case-marker, or after the base
when the case-marker is dropped,
though when the two words are pronounced separately,
the empty-morph disappears.
Between the base and the marker —*oṭu*,
it both appears and disappears.

134. It is obvious that the consonant
which precedes *aṭṭu* and *vaṟṟu*, these two words,
will disappear, while that which follows them
will be doubled as plosive.[120]

135. *kāram*, *karam*, and *kāṉ* are the empty-morphs
which correctly appear joining sounds.

136. Among them,
karam and *kāṉ* are not [used along with]
the long sounds.[121]

137. The short sounds as they follow [each other] in succession
have all the three [above-quoted morphs].[122]

138. *ai-kāram* and *au-kāram* appear also with *kāṉ*.

139. A vowel-symbol following a consonant-symbol[123]
cannot exist by itself ; it merges with the consonant,[124]
destroying thus its nature.

140. When the consonant separates from the vowel
it obtains its original form.[125]

141. It is not forbidden to give shape
to a suitable consonant between any words
which end and begin with vowels.[126]

142. Words which appear similar in form
have different meanings [and] sandhi
according to the way they are pronounced.[127]

143. And they,
since [their] meaning is determined from the context,[128]
are not bound by a particular rule of writing.

CHAPTER V : *Collection of [morphophonemic] rules*

144. The nasal sounds which appear
preceding *k*, *c*, *t*, [and] *p* are,
respectively, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *n* [and] *m* ;
they are realized in utterances of such type.[129]

145. When the initial sound of the succeeding word is
ñ, n, m, y, v, or when the initial sound is a vowel,
no change takes place,
whatever be the final sound of the standing word,
and whatever be its relationship.[130]

146. Among those,
none prevents the optional insertion of a nasal
after the final member of a *toṭarmoḻi*.[131]

147. Scholars say that *y-* and *ñ-* may stand
as initials of verbs after [words ending]
in the non-vocalised consonants *-ṇ* and *-ṉ*.[132]

148. Those two non-vocalised consonants [*i.e.* *ṇ* and *ṉ*]
standing [as final members] do not manifest
any change in non-case relation,[133] whatever sound
appears initially.

149. The above-stated rule applies
even in case relationship,
with the exception of plosives.[134]

150. If *t-* and *n-* follow the non-vocalised consonants
-l and *-ṉ*, they will become *r-* and *ṉ-*.[135]

151. After the non-vocalised consonants *-ṇ* and *-ḷ*
they will appear as *ṭ-* and *ṇ-*.[136]

152. If [the standing word is] a verb in the second
person[137] ending in a vowel or in a consonant[138]
[and] a plosive [at the beginning of the coming word]
follows, there are two alternatives possible—
either there is no change, or there is optional multiplication.[139]

153. In the words of the second person[140]
ending in the vowel *au* and in the non-vocalised
consonants *ñ, n, m, v,*
and when the over-shot *u* occurs at the end,
[the above-said rule ?] does not apply completely.

154. The nouns of the personal class[141]
ending in vowels, and the nouns of the personal class
ending in non-vocalised consonants,
manifest no change in all relationships ;
so it is said.

155. Among them,
there is place for change
with nouns ending in *-i*.[142]

156. Those [personal] nouns which are also used
as non-personal nouns[143] do sometimes
remain unchanged, too.[144]

157. If a noun [with its third case-marker dropped]
ends in a vowel or a non-vocalised consonant,
and is followed by a verb[145] which denotes its action[146]
[and] which begins with a plosive that admits
its doubling,[147] there exist two proper ways
[of sandhi]—no change, or the optional
appearance of consonants ; one should study it
carefully in the chapter on cases.[148]

158. It is said that the different kinds of sandhi
which take place between the standing and the coming words
when the former is in the [second] case
with the suffix *-ai* or without it [are as follows] :

(1) Insertion of plosive[149] instead of nasal,[150]
(2) insertion of nasal instead of plosive,
(3) occurrence of doubling[151] in place of no change,[152]
(4) absence of vowel where vowel should have been inserted,
(5) absence of empty-morph where empty-morph should have occurred,
(6) occurrence of the case-marker[153] along with the empty morph,
(7) occurrence of doubling in place of empty morph,
(8) invariable occurrence[154] of the case-marker with [the nouns of] the personal class,
(9) the same with the personal nouns used as non-personal nouns.[155]
(10) absence of change[156] in place where there ought to have been change,
and similar [changes].[157]

159. In non-case relationship,
the nouns which end in *-i* [or] *-ai*
have three [possible] rules :
they are,
absence of any change, [obligatory] insertion of plosive,
and optional insertion of plosive ;
so say the scholars.[158]

160. The final *-i* of a word which has demonstratives[159]
initially,
the final *-i* of an interrogative word[160]
which has *e-* initially,
the final *-ai* of a word which has initially
the lengthened part of the demonstrative,[161]
and the final *-ai* of an interrogative
having *yā-* initially,
have, in positions stated [above],
the [obligatory] insertion of a plosive,
or the optional insertion [of a plosive] ;[162]
thus it is said.

161. The consonant which follows long vowels is dropped,
and [that which follows] short vowels
has its shape doubled ;
they say that in order to know [these conditions],
a system of prescribed rules [was] revealed.[163]

162. If the words which shorten their long root-vowel
are followed by the sixth or the fourth case-marker,
the [above-] mentioned doubling of consonants
does not occur ; [their] final non-vocalised consonants
will be followed by *-a*.[164]

163. The final [consonant] of *num*
will not deviate from that rule.[165]

164. Consonantal endings [capable of] joining
with [a following] *u-* sound
do remain [without the *u*] when
words beginning with *y-* or with vowels follow.[166]

165. After all the words which end in vowels and non-vocalised consonants
and point to measures,[167] weights,[168] and numbers,[169]
if they are followed by analogical words denoting
lesser [measure, weight, or number],
the proper empty-morph is said to be *-ē*.[170]

166. The insertion of the empty-morph [*ē*]
is not realized with a word
which means a portion [of a thing],
namely *arai*.[171]

167. When the word *kuṟai* follows
[words denoting measure, weight and number],
[the rule of sandhi] which functions fully
[is] that which is appropriate to case-relationship.[172]

168. The empty-morph *iṉ* [is affixed]
to the over-short *u*.[173]

169. *attu* comes between the measure-word *kalam* [and *kuṟai*].[174]

170. On careful consideration,
the word *paṉai* denoting measure,
and the word *kā* denoting weight,
will combine with *iṉ*.[175]

171. There are only nine phonemes
which stand at the beginning of words
denoting measure and weight :
they are
k, *c*, *t*, *p*, and *n*, *m*, *v*,
and also *a* and *u* ;
so it is said.[176]

172. All the different rules expounding
the nature of the final sounds of standing words
[which join the coming words] should be determined
as valid from the usage prevailing in reality.[177]

173. The disappearance of the sound *va* in the word
yāvar preceded by an epicene plural,[178]
and the appearance of the sound *va* in the interrogative
pronoun *yātu* preceded by non-human singular—[179]
these two occur mostly in usage
considered as *marūu*.[180]

CHAPTER VI : [*Morphophonemic rules in*] *inflection*

174. The empty morph *iṉ* is inserted between case-markers[181]
and the six final [phonemes] of the standing word,
namely *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *ē*, *au*.[182]

175. Nouns ending in -*a* and denoting ' many '
will not fail having [the empty-morph] *vaṟṟu*.[183]

176. The interrogative *yā* will not fail either to follow the same rule.[184]

177. [Words which] begin with a demonstrative[185]
[and end in] the sound *u* take *aṉ*
[before the case-marker], remove (*or* transform ?)
the appropriate consonant and lose the *u*.[186]

178. [Words which] begin with a demonstrative and end in -*ai*
will appropriately appear having combined with *vaṟṟu*.[187]

179. The scholars say
that the ending *ai* of the interrogative *yā*, too,
will not fail to observe that rule ;[188]
the sound *v* disappears there with *ai*.[189]

180. The one noun *ni* shortens its long base [-vowel]
[and] the consonant[190] sound *ṉ* appears there.[191]

181. The empty-morph *oṉ* is appropriate to the ending long *ō*.[192]

182. *attu* is also inserted between the words
denoting trees [ending] in *a*, *ā*,
and the seventh-case morph.[193]

183. The non-vocalized consonants *ñ* and *n*
have the empty-morph *iṉ*.[194]

184. The sound *v* of the demonstratives as initials
will not fail to have the nature of [words]
which dropped the final *ai* and [its] consonant.[195]

185. The remaining sound(s) *v* will combine with *iṉ*.[196]

186. After the non-vocalized consonant *m*
comes *attu* as the empty-morph.[197]

187. There are words [ending in *m*) in which
iṉ comes inbetween.[198]

188. The ending of *num* has no change.[199]

189. The endings of *tām* and *nām*
and the ending of *yām* are the same as that [*i.e. num*] ;
ă̄ becomes e in *yām* ;
there the sound *y* must disappear ;
and the other two have the long stem-vowel shortened.[200]

190. After the ending of *ellām*
the empty-morph *vaṟṟu* appears fully
and *um* has the final position.[201]

191. If [*ellām* refers to] the personal class,[202]
nam is inserted in between.[203]

192. In the endings of *ellārum* which denotes the third person,[204]
and of *ellīrum* which denotes the second person,[205]
the consonant and the sound *u* disappear ;
so it is said ;
the non-vocalized consonant *r* must remain ;
and *um* stands as final ;
tam comes in between in the third person
and *num* comes in between with the words of the second person.[206]

193. The two endings of *tāṉ* and *yāṉ*
are not different from the three nouns [mentioned] above.[207]

194. The occurrence of *attu* and *iṉ* is optional
with the two words *aḷaṉ*[208] and *puḷaṉ*[209]
the wise ones say that it is in agreement
[with the rules *or* usage].

195. They say that the empty-morph *aṉ*
is added naturally after the ending of *ēḷu*.[210]

196. The empty-morph *iṉ* appears completely
after [words] ending in over-short *u*.[211]

197. The consonant is doubled after a long vowel ;
[but] not in words of that type.

198. For those [words]
are said to remain unchanged
[and occasionally] be changed.[212]

199. The ending of [words denoting] numbers[213]
combines with *aṉ*.[214]

200. When pronouncing all numbers beginning with
one, and ending with ten, there is no harm
in *āṉ*, too, is added in the middle ;
if that case the part *aḵtu* [of *paḵtu*] is dropped ;
the consonant *p* must be preserved.[215]

201. The ending of *yātu* and the endings [of the words]
beginning with demonstrative [vowels] [which have]
āytam [in the middle] combine with *aṉ* ;
there, the *āytam* disappears.[216]

202. Words [denoting] direction,[217]
when followed by the seventh-case marker,
will not optionally take the empty-morph [*iṉ*] ;
there, the ending with the consonant is dropped.[218]

203. All words, ending in non-vocalized consonants
or vowels other than those mentioned [above],
when combined with case-markers, will—
on examining [them]—
take the empty-morph, but not necessarily.[219]

Comment on Chapter 4

Aphorisms 104-107 may be considered as introductory. The discussion of *Sandhi* (*puṇartal*, *puṇarcci* in Tamil) proper begins with *s*.108. This aphorism states that sandhi involves two words: the preceding word or *niṟutta col* ' installed, standing word ', and the succeeding word or *kuṟittu varum kiḷavi* ' particular coming word ' (i.e. that which comes with reference to the preceding word, following Iḷampūraṇar's reasonable interpretation). It further states that there are four types of sandhi : vowel + vowel, vowel + consonant, consonant + vowel, consonant + consonant. The result of *puṇarcci* may be change (*tiripu*) or no-change (lit. ' original nature ', *iyalpu*). The changes are of three kinds (*c*. 110) : assimilation, addition, and elision. *C*. 111 is difficult to interpret unambiguously: it seems that the best way how to translate *aṭai* is ' adjunct ', since this rule seems to refer to such cases as *āyiram* + *oṉṟu* > *āyirattoṉṟu*. According to a different opinion, *aṭai* should be rendered as ' attributes, attributives ' (I think I do not agree).

Aphorism 112 : According to some (e.g. Iḷamp.), only the grammatically accepted metathesised forms are *marūu*. It seems that *marūu* could simply be interpreted as a pair of items which became so fused that they cannot be explained in terms of sandhi changes ; the whole group can, though, occur in sandhi with other words or groups. The following two aphorisms are very important : in 112, *puṇarcci* is classified into ' case-relation ' and ' non-case relation ' depending upon the syntactic relationship of the two components (the ' standing ' and ' coming ' words). The increments occurring between the two may be either an *eḻuttu* ' sound ' (in this particular case a homorganic plosive or nasal), or a *cāriyai* which is best translated as an empty morph (in agreement with Ch. Hockett's

theory and terminology) ; *cāriyai* used to be translated also as ' flexional increment '.

C. 114 enumerates the six case-morphs : *-ai* (accusative), *-oṭu* (sociative), *-ku* (dative), *-iṉ* (ablative), *-atu* (genitive), *-kaṇ* (locative). *C.* 115 concerns case-morphs *-ku* and *-kaṇ*. *C.* 119 deals with the tactics of case-formation (suffixes follow noun-bases). *C.* 120 enumerates nine empty morphs, but adds that there are more having the same function. Aphorisms 121-134 mention the alloforms of the empty-morphs *iṉ*, *vaṟṟu*, *aṉ*, *oṉ*, *āṉ*, *attu*, *ikku*, *am*. There are some interesting points which should be discussed in a more detailed treatment, above all the integrity of this entire portion which seems somewhat suspicious.

According to 135, the words which are used to name sounds/letters (e.g. *akāram*) are considered as empty-morphs (*cāriyai*). Their distribution is dealt with in the next two aphorisms. The following aphorisms obviously deal with the *graphemic sandhi* (as already P. S. Subrahm. Sastri recognized when he said ' with *symbols* and not with *sounds* '). An important aphorism is No. 141. Observe that the insertion of ' glides ' (*uṭampaṭu mey*, hiatus-fillers) is NOT obligatory. No rules are given, no glides either. The commentators tend to interpret the absence of obligation so that it refers to such syntactic constructions as *kiḷi aritu* where indeed no hiatus-fillers are used since they involve a thema and a rhema, a Subject and its Predicate. I would however be inclined to interpret it so that in *Tolk.*, time the use of hiatus-fillers was optional in *all* environments ; in other words, vowel-clusters were permitted.

Equally important is aphorism 142 ; the same sequence of words may be interpreted in two different ways, according to its manner of pronunciation. This aphorism shows how delicate and precise was the analysis of *Tolk.* ; since there is no provision in the writing to indicate such semantic difference (C. 143), the difference in the manner of pronunciation must have referred to some kinds of paralinguistic phenomena. Observing the quoted examples, it is clear that what was involved was a ' suprasegmental ' phoneme which may be termed juncture (or disjuncture). Its presence in different segmental slots of the sequence was responsible for the difference of meaning ; this is quite obvious when one pronounces aloud, e.g., *kû̄ṟumpar* + *âmpu* ' the arrow of the Kuṟumpar ' (with disjuncture indicated by +, and the dynamic accents indicated by ∧) versus *kûṟum* + *pârampû* ' short mound '.

Comment on Chapter 5

This chapter which seems at the first glance to be, in parts, somewhat badly organised, deals with morphophonemic and syntactophonemic rules pertaining to certain groups of sounds (e.g. nasals, non-plosives etc.) ; the rules are formulated on different morphosyntactic criteria.

Some of these rules are pretty important : thus e.g. 148 which states that no sandhi change takes place between words which stand in *vēṟṟumai yalvaḻi* ; i.e. there is no syntactophonemic *liaison* between *theme* and *rheme*, between Subject and Predicate, between Noun and Verb. Aphorisms 152-3 deal with the sandhi of the second person of verbs, but the exact interpretation of 153 is difficult. I think though that Iḷampūraṇar's examples are significant, and that Vēṅkaṭarājulu Reṭṭiyār (*Tolkāppiya eḻuttatikārāvārāycci*, pp. 113-6) was not right when he saw in this *cūttiram* simply sounds listed which cannot occur finally in the 2nd person.

Tolkāppiyam then takes up nouns according to their ' gender ' (whether *uyartiṇai* or *akṟiṇai*) and their behaviour in sandhi. According to c. 154, the nouns of the personal (' superior ') class exhibit no change in whatever type of relationship (*ellā vaḻiyum*) they may occur : this may and probably does refer both to the phonological environments as well as to the two types of syntactophonemic relationship (case: ton-case). This rule is modified in cs. 155 and 156. In cs. 159 and 160, the exact conditions for the rules are unfortunately not given. The next rule deals with closed long and short monosyllables (of the type *kōl* and *poṉ*), and in 162 *Tolk.* refers to the exception to this rule in the words *tāṉ*, *yāṉ*, *nām*, *yām* and *nī* (which becomes *niṉ*). 163 deals with *num*, and 164 with a few marginal exceptional cases. The remaining aphorisms handle words denoting number, weight, and measurements. These words began, in Tolkāppiyaṉār's language, only with the following nine phonemes : *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *n*, *m*, *v*, *a* and *u* (c. 171). Cs. 165-70 deal with the use of the empty morph—*ē* with such words, and with the empty morphs *-iṉ* and *-attu*, and their distribution, as well as with the sandhi of the word *kuṟai* ' deficiency ' and *arai* ' half '. Very interesting—for entirely different reasons though—is aphorism 168 which uses the form *kuṟṟiyalukarakku* ' to the over-short *u*' where we would expect *kuṟṟiyalukarattukku*. There are more instances of this type cf. *Tolk.* 1533 *vēḻakku* ' to the elephant', *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 572 *nilakku* ' to the land ' ' *Maṇimēkalai* 21.30 *maṉakku* ' to the mind ', *Cilapp.* 24.1 : 10 *kulakku* ' to the clan '. It seems that this curious but significant phenomenon connects with the broader problem of the possibility of reconstructing a nominative marker **-m*/ **-n* in Dravidian, cf. K. V. Zvelebil, ' Dravidian Case-suffixes : Attempt at a Reconstruction ', *JAOS* 92, 2 (1972) 272-6.

Aphorism 172 cannot be interpreted unambiguously : according to one interpretation which stresses Tolkāppiyaṉār's empirical and ' realistic ' approach, all the different rules of the syntactophonemic and morphophonemic sphere (including those which were not mentioned in the text) should be determined as valid from the actual, prevailing usage. According to a different interpretation, words of different endings and beginnings behave in sandhi in different ways, according to the rules

specified. The commentators list here the exceptions to the rules discussed in the body of this chapter.

It is odd that after this rather general aphorism, there occurs another *cūttiram* (173) which deals with a matter which is quite specific. The arrangement of 172 and 173 seems to be wrong ; what has happened ? Have the two aphorisms been misplaced and should 173 occur instead of 172 and the *vice versa* ? Or is 173 a later interpolation, first written probably as a marginal note and then wrongly copied as part of the work ?

Finally, a remark on the term sandhi : this is used by me not to imply any Sanskritic ' origin ' of the phenomenon, or to reveal any pro-Sanskrit bias on my part, but simply because—irrespective of its origin—the term has been adopted by modern linguistics for the clumsy phrase ' morphophonemic plus syntactophonemic rules '.

Comment on Chapter 6

The chapter is beautifully organized : the first eight aphorisms deal with the vocalic *Auslaut* of words ; the next twelve *nūṟpās* describe the consonantal *Auslaut* ; the following eight aphorisms deal with words ending in full or over-short *-u*. The last aphorism (203) is a general conclusion.

The chapter deals with the distribution of empty-morphs and of stem allomorphs when they are followed by case-markers, and is thus a well-balanced collection of morphophonemic rules proper.

175 may be interpreted in two ways : the words *eccam iṉṟu* may either be understood as ' will [never] fail to ', or they may refer to other empty morphs (Iḷampūraṇar).

177 is difficult to interpret : it is difficult to see what exactly is referred to by *oṭṭiya meyyoḻittu* ' removing (*or* transforming ?) the appropriate consonant '.

Aphorism 181 is extremely interesting in that it shows, first, the presence of the vowel cluster *ōo* in words like *kōonai* ' the king (or god) + accusative ', and, second, of an empty morph no longer current in post— *Tolk*. language, viz. *-oṉ-*. Similarly, no occurrence of such sequences as *avaiyaṟṟ-*, *ivaiyaṟṟ*— has been so far found in any Old Tamil text, though according to *c*. 178 they were permissible in the language described by Tolkāppiyar.

Aphorisms 197 and 198 present, too, some difficulties. They have to be taken together ; 197 refers to the consonants preceding over-short *-u* in words with long stem-vowels, like *yāṟu* ' river ' ; *Tolk*. does

not seem to specify which consonants are meant, but in actual usage only *ṭ* and *ṟ* are doubled. The next aphorism is supposed to clear our doubts : the empty morph *iṉ* is not added in such cases, i.e. *yāṭu* + *ai* = *yāṭṭai.* However, to the commentators the fact that the same *nūṟpā* says *ceyaṟkariya* (unnecessarily ? hardly !) seems to indicate that *yāṭṭiṉai* is also possible, and indeed, forms like, say, *yāṟṟiṉai* are in use.

FOOTNOTES (*To Chapter IV*)

78 *puḷḷi.*
79 i.e. provided with a *puḷḷi.*
80 *puṇarnilai.*
81 *nivutta col.*
82 *kuṟittu varu kiḷavi.*
83 *peyar.*
84 *toḻil.*
85 *moḻipuṇar.*
86 *tiripu.*
87 *iyalpu.*
88 *mey piṟitātal* ; assimilation, e.g. *poṉ* + *kuṭam* > *poṟkuṭam.*
89 *mikutal*, sometimes rendered as ' insertion ', e.g. *yāṉai-k-kōṭu.*
90 *kuṉṟal*, elision, e.g. *maram* + *ēr* > *mara-v-ēr.*
91 *mayaṅku.*
92 *tokuti.*
93 ' contraction ', ' fusion ' of words resulting in metathesis authorized as grammatical e.g. *il* + *muṉ* > *muṉṟil* ' front-yard '.
94 *puṇarnilai.*
95 *vēṟṟumai kuṟitta* ' relation designed as case '
96 *vēṟṟumai yalvaḻi* ' non-case relation '.
97 *eḻuttu.*
98 *cāriyai.*
99 *vēṟṟumaiyurupu.*
100 E.g. *ūr*+*ku*> *ūrkku*, *nīr*+*kaṇ*> *nīrkkaṇ.*
101 E.g. *niṉa* + *atu* > *niṉatu.*
102 *uyartiṇai*, lit. ' high class ', i.e. personal, rational nouns.
103 *akṟiṇai*, ' non-class ' of non-personal, non-rational nouns. This aphorism seems superfluous and out of place here ; is it an interpolation ?
104 *maruṅku.*
105 *cāriyai moḻi.*
106 E.g. *ā* + *iṉ* + *ai* > *ā-v-iṉ-ai* or *ā-ṉ-ai.*
107 *aḷavu.* E.g. *pattu* + *iṉ* + *pattu* > *patiṟṟuppattu.*
108 E.g. *avai* + *vaṟṟu* + *ai* > *avaṟṟai.*
109 *urupu.* E.g. *ataṉku* > *ataṟku*, *viḷaviṉku* > *viḷaviṟku.*
110 *nāḷ.* Iḷamp. quotes *paraṇiyāṟ koṇṭāṉ* as illustration : *paraṇi* ' the second lunar asterism '.
111 E.g. *maka(m)* + *attu* + *kai* > *makattu kai.*
112 E.g. *āṭi* + *ikku* > *āṭikkuk koṇṭāṉ.*
113 E.g. *cittirai* + *ikku* > *cittiraikkuk koṇṭāṉ.*
114 E.g. *tamiḻ* + *akku* + *kūttu* > *tamiḻakkūttu.* There are some problems with the interpretation of this aphorism. According to later commentators, this happens not only before stops, but before other consonants, too, e.g. *tamiḻ* + *akku* + *nūl* > *tamiḻanūl.*, *tamiḻ* + *akku* + *yāppu* > *tamiḻayāppu.* I agree with the interpretation of Iḷamp. The cases quoted by later commentators obviously involve a different matter.
115 E.g. *puḷiyaṅkōṭu*, *puḷiyañceṭil*, *puḷiyantōl.*
116 E.g. *puḷiyañeri*, *puḷiyanuni*, *puḷiyamuṟi*, *puḷiyayāḻ*, *puḷiyavaṭṭu.*
117 *iṉ eṉ cāriyai.*
118 *iṉ eṉa vēṟṟumai urupu.* E.g. **palaviṉiṉ* > *palāviṉ.*
119 E.g. *viḷa-v-iṉ-ai-k-kuṟaittāṉ* ; *pu-v-iṉ-oṭu* or *pū-v-oṭu.* The examples quoted Iḷam. show, first, that the *viṉai* meant here is either finite verb or participal noun (*viḷaviṉaikkuṟaittavaṉ* is quoted) and, second, that the order meant is Noun + Verb.
120 E.g. *kaḷam* + *attu* + *kuṟai* > *kaḷattukkuṟai* ; *av* + *vaṟṟu* + *kōṭu* > *avaṟṟaikkōṭu.*
121 E.g. *akāram.*
122 E.g. *akāram ñ ākāram ñ akkāṉ.*
123 *puḷḷi.*
124 *mey.* E.g. *āl* + *aṭai* > *ālaṭai* ; *maram* + *atu* > *maramatu.*
125 *uru.* E.g. *maramuṇṭu* > *maram uṇṭu* ; *ataṉai* > *ataṉ* + *ai.*

[126] E.g. *puḷi* + *aṅkē* > *puḷi(y)aṅkē*. *Tolk.* has not clearly stated what are the consonants which may be inserted. According to Iḷamp., they are *y* and *v*, *y* with *i* and *ai*, *v* with the other vowels. The 'glides' are termed *uṭampaṭu mey* by Iḷamp., following the aphorism of *Tolk*. Nacc. adds that after *ĕ*, both *y* and *v* may occur. This is followed by *Virac.* and *Naṉ.*[127] E.g. *cemparutti* is either *cem* + *parutti* 'red cotton' or *cempu* + *arutti* 'liquor in at pot' (it can also mean 'divide the pot'); *kuṟumparampu* is either *kuṟum*+*parampau* 'short mound' or *kuṟumpar* + *ampu* 'the arrow of the Kuṟumpar'; *tāmaraikkaṇiyār* is either *tāmarai* + *kaṇṇyār* 'lotos + dancer' or *tām* + *araikku* + *aṇiyār* 'those that are ornaments to their waists'.

[128] *muṉṉap poruḷa.*

FOOTNOTES (*To Chapter V*)

[129] E.g. *viḷaṅkōṭu, viḷañceṭi, viḷantōl, viḷampū.*

[130] E.g. *viḷa/tāḻ ñāṉratu, nīṇṭatu, māṇṭatu, yātu, valitu* . . . . etc.

[131] The insertion is obviously optional. Tolkāppiyaṉār's terminology is very careful and very precise: whenever he speaks about *obligatory* 'multiplication' of sounds, the term is *mikutal*; whenever he means *optional* insertion, he employs the term *uraltal* (cf. e.g. cs. 152, 157 *uraḻattoṉṟal*, 159, 160). For *toṭarmoḻi*, cf. aphorism 45 and ftn. 39. Exx.: *katirñeriñ katirññeri*; *katirunai* ~ *katirnnuṇi* etc.; *pūnuṇi* ~ *pūnnuṇi* etc.; *kāymuri* ~ *kāymmuri*, etc.

[132] Both *maṉ yātta* and *maṉ ñātta*, *poṉ yātta* and *poṉ ñātta* are possible.

[133] *vēṟṟumai yalvaḻi*. E.g. *maṉ/poṉ niṟutti, maṉ/poṉ kaṭitu, maṉ/poṉ ciṟitu* etc.

[134] E.g. *maṉ/poṉ ñārci/nīṭci.*

[135] E.g. *kal* + *tīṭu* > *kaṟṟīṭu, poṉ* + *tīṭu* > *poṉṟīṭu, kal* + *naṉṟu* > *kaṉṉaṉṟu, poṉ* + *naṉṟu* > *poṉṉaṉṟu.*

[136] *maṇ* + *tīṭu* > *maṇṭīṭu, muḷ* + *tīṭu* > *muṭṭīṭu*, maṇ + *naṉṟu* > *maṇṇaṉṟu, muḷ* + *naṉṟu* > *muṇṇaṉṟu.*

[137] *muṉṉilaik kiḷavi.*

[138] *uyirīṟu* 'vocalic *Auslaut*'; *puḷḷiyīṟu* 'consonantal *Auslaut*'.

[139] *naṭakoṟṟā*~*naṭakkōṟṟa, īrkoṟṟā* & *īrkkoṟṟā*; optional multiplication = *ūṟalpu* (comm. *perukkam*).

[140] *muṉṉilai moḻi.* Accord. to Iḷam., *muṟṟu* 'completely' implies that the above words will follow the previous rule only after receiving the *-u*, and that, hence, both *kauvukoṟṟā* and *kauvukkoṟṟā* is possible, as well as e.g. *uriñukoṟṟā* and *uriñukkoṟṟā*; the other 2. p. forms mentioned are *poruṉ, tiruṉ, tevvu* and *kūṭu.*

[141] *uyartiṇaippeyar.*

[142] E.g. *nampippēṟu*. The other words given by the commentators are *eṭṭi* 'distinguished member of the Vaisya caste' and *kāviti* 'king's minister'; all three are titles conferred on persons of distinction (including *nampi* 'distinguished member of the *bhakti* movement').

[143] *akṟiṇai viravup peyar*, lit. 'nouns mixed [with] non-personal class.'

[144] *iyalpumāruḷavē*. E.g. *Cāttaṉ kuṟiyāṉ* about a person called *Cāttaṉ*; *Cāttaṉ kuṟitu* about an animal which has been given the name *Cāttaṉ.*

[145] *toḻiṟcol.*

[146] *tammiṉākiya toḻiṟcol.*

[147] *valleḻuttu mikuti colliya muṟaiyāṉ.*

[148] E.g. *vaḷikōṭpaṭṭāṉ* ~ *vaḷikkōṭpaṭṭāṉ* 'he was caught in the whirl-wind'.

[149] *valippu*; *valleḻuttu.*

[150] *melippu*; *melleḻuttu.*

[151] *mikaṟkai.*

[152] *iyaṟkai*, lit. 'the natural [i.e. unchanged] state.'

[153] *taṉ urupu.*

[154] *oḻiyātu varutal.*

[155] *akṟiṇaiviravuppeyar*, cf. ftn. 143.

[156] *iyaṟkaiyātal* 'the duration of the natural state.'

[157] Illustrations: 1. *viḷakkuṟaittāṉ* (for *viḷaṅkuṟaittāṉ*); 2. *maraṅkuṟaittāṉ* (for *marakkuṟaittāṉ*); 3. *tāykkolai* (for *tāykolai*); 4. *palākuṟaittāṉ* (for *palākkuraittāṉ*); 5. *vaṇṭukoṉarantāṉ* (for *vaṇṭuṅkoṉarntāṉ*); 6. *vaṇṭiṉaikko-ṉarntāṉ* (for *vaṇṭuṅkoṉarntāṉ*); 7. *pulikuṟaitāṉ* ~ *puḷikkuṟaittāṉ* (for *puḷiyaṅkuṟaittāṉ*); 8. *nampiyaikkoṉarntāṉ*; 9. *koṟṟaṉaikkoṉartāṉ*; 10. *maṅkoṉarntāṉ* (for *maṭkoṉarntāṉ*).

[158] Illustrations: *parutti/arai - kuṟitu* (absence of change); *kiḷi kuṟitu* & *kiḷikkuṟitu, tiṉa kuṟitu* ~ *tiṉaikkuṟitu* (optional insertion); *pulikkoṟṟaṉ* (obligatory insertion).

[159] *cuṭṭu.*

[160] *viṉāvu.*

[161] *cuṭṭucciṉai.*

[162] i.e. demonstratives *a-, i-, u-* + final *-i*, e.g. *atōḷi* 'that place' (Nacciṉārk.), *ivvaḷi* 'this way'; interrog. *e-* + final *-i*, e.g. *etoḷi, evvaḷi*; long demonstrative + final *-ai*, e.g. *āṇṭa* 'there', *iṅkavai* 'here'; interrog. *yā-* + final *-ai*, e.g. *yāṇṭai* 'where'.

[163] E.g. *kōl* + *tīṭu*>*kōṟīṭu, kōl* + *naṉṟu* > *kōṉaṉṟu, tāṉ* + *nallaṉ* > *tāṉallaṉ*; but *maṉ*+ *akal* > *maṉṉakal, poṉ* + *akal* > *poṉṉakal.*

164 E.g. *nam* + *ku*, *nam* + *atu* > *nam-a-kku*, *nam-a-tu*, instead of *nammakku* and **nammatu* accord. to rule 161.
165 i,e. *numakku*, *numatu*.
166 E.g. *uriñyātā* & *uriñātā*.
167 *aḷavu*.
168 *niṟai*.
169 *eṉ*.
170 E.g. *kalaṉēpatakku* ' a *kalam* and a *patakku* ', denoting measure ; *toṭiyēkakcu* ' a *toṭi* and a *kakcu* ', weight ; *kālēkāṇi* ' one-fourth and one-eightieth' (number).
171 E,g. *uḻakkaṟai*, ... , *oṉṟarai* ' one and a half '. and not **oṉṟēarai*.
172 E.g. *kalakkuṟai*, *koṭkuṟai*, etc . . . . , *kārkuṟai* ' less than a quarter '.
173 i.e. between a word of measure, weight or number ending in an over-short *-u* and the word *kuṟai*, e.g. *oṉriṉkuṟai* ' less than one '.
174 i.e. *kalattukkuṟai*.
175 i.e. *paṉaiyiṉkuṟai*, *kāviṉkuṟai*.
176 Exx. : *kalam*, *kaḻañcu*, *cāṭi*, *cīrakam*, *tūtai*, *toṭi*, *palam*, *pāṉai*, *nāḻi*, *nirai*, *maṇṭai*, *mā*, *vaṭṭil*, *varai*, *akal*, *antai*, *uḻakku*. It is interesting that obviously no item was available to Iḷampūraṇar with initial *u-* denoting weight. On the other hand, he quotes words denoting measurement and beginning with other phonemes, viz. *immi*, *ōraṭai*, *ōrātai*.
177 *mey talaippaṭṭa vaḻakku*.
178 *palaraṟi*.
179 *oṉraṟi*.
180 *marūu* (which accord. to c. 483 cannot be explained in sandhi) is a kind of change which is authorized by ' learned men ' but is not according to rule. E.g. *avar* + *yāvar* > *avar yār* ; *atu* + *yātu* > *atu yāvatu*.

FOOTNOTES (*Chapter VI*)

181 *vēṟṟumai urupiṟku*.
182 Exx. : *viḷa-v-iṉ-ai*, *palā-v-iṉ-ai*, *kaṭu-v-iṉ-ai*, *taḻūu-v-iṉ-ai*, *cē-v-iṉ-ai*, *vau-v-iṉ-ai*.
183 Exx. : *pala-vaṟṟ-ai*, *cila-vaṟṟ-oṭu*.
184 Ex. : *yā-vaṟṟ-ai*.
185 *cuṭṭumutal*.
186 E.g. *at-aṉ-ai*, *it-aṉ-oṭu*.
187 E.g. *avaiyaṟṟai*. The *v* of *vaṟṟu* is removed by rule 123.
188 I.e. takes *vaṟṟu* before case-marker.
189 I.e. *-v-ai* of *yā-vai* is dropped : *yāvai* + *ai* > *yā-vaṟṟ-ai*.
190 *oṟṟu*.
191 E.g. *niṉṉai*.
192 E.g. *kōoṉai*, *kōoṉoṭu*.
193 Exx. : *viḷa-v-attu-k-kaṇ* ; *palā-v-attu-k-kaṇ*.
194 E.g. *uriñ-iṉ-ai*, *poruñ-iṉ-oṭu*.
195 I.e. *av*, *iv*, *uv* behaves in the same way as *yāvai*, taking *vaṟṟu*, eg. *av*+*ai* > *av-vaṟṟu-ai* V *avaṟṟai*.
196 E.g. *tev-v-iṉ-ai*.
197 E.g. *maram* + *ai* > *marattai*.
198 E.g. *urum-iṉ-ai*.
199 *iyarkaiyākum* i.e. will have no empty-morph, e.g. *num-m-oṭu*.
200 Exx. : *tām* + *ai* > *tammai* ; *nām* + *oṭu* > *nammoṭu*;*yām* + *oṭu* > *emmoṭu*.
201 E.g. *ellā-vaṟṟ-ai-y-um*, *ellā-vaṟṟ-oṭu-um*.
202 *uyartiṇai*.
203 Ex. : *ellā-nam-m-ai-y-um*.
204 *paṭarkkai*.
205 *muṉṉilai*.
206 Exx . : *ellārum* + *ai* > *ēllār-tam-m-ai-y-um* ; *ellīrum* + *oṭu* > *ellīr -num-m-oṭu-um*.
207 Exx. : *taṉṉai*, *eṉṉoṭu*.
208 I.e. *aḻattai* or *aḻaṉiṉai* ; *aḻaṉ* ' corpse '.
209 I.e. *puḷattai* or *puḷaṉiṉai*.
210 E.g. *ēḻaṉoṭu* ' with seven '.
211 E.g. *varakiṉai*, *nākiṉoṭu*.
212 E.g. *yāṭṭai* or *yāṭṭiṉai*.
213 *eṇ*.
214 E.g. *oṉṟiṉai*.
215 I.e. *iru* + *pattu* + *ai* > either *irupāṉai* (by rule 200) or *irupakṭaṉai* (by rule 199).
216 Exx. : *yātaṉai*, *ataṉai*, *itaṉai*, *utaṉi*.
217 *ticaippeyar*, e.g. *vaṭakku*.
218 Exx. : *vaṭakku* + *kaṇ* > *vaṭakkaṇ* or *vaṭakkiṉkaṇ*.
219 Exx. : *maṇ* + *ai* > *maṇṇai* or *maṇṇiṉai* ; *kiḷi* + *ai* > *kiḷiyai* or *kiḷiyiṉai*.

Verbal Constraints on the Use of the Indefinite Pronouns in Tamil

S. AGESTHIALINGOM

The indefinite pronoun in Tamil is made by adding *-um*, *-ō*, and *-āvatu* either to interrogative or to the case signs after it. These suffixes are added to interrogative pronouns and as a result many indefinite pronouns are made.

(1)	ār-um	anybody/nobody
(2)	ēt-um	anything/nothing
(3)	ār-ēy-um	Anybody/nobody (obj.)
(4)	et-ēy-um	anything/nothing (obj.)
(5)	ār-ukk-um	to anyone/to no one
(6)	et-ukk-um	to anything/to nothing
(7)	ār-ō	someone
(8)	et-ō	something
(9)	ār-ey-ō	someone (obj.)
(10)	ār-ukk-ō	to someone
(11)	et-ukk-ō	to something
(12)	ār-āvatu	someone
(13)	ār-ukk-āvatu	to someone
(14)	ār-ey-āvatu	someone (obj.)

Of these three sets the first one occurs both in the positive and the negative sentences, whereas the latter two occur only in the positive.[1]

(15)	ārō vantā	Someone came
(16)	ārāvatu varuvā	Someone will come
(17)	ārukkō kuṭuttē,	I gave (it) to someone
(18)	ārukkāvatu kuṭuppēṉ	I will give it to someone
(19)	āreyāvatu pāppēṉ	I will see someone
(20)	āreyō pāttēṉ	I saw someone
(21)	ārutteyā vatu pāppēṉ	I will see in someone

Though both of them (*-ō* and *-āvatu*) occur in the positive sentences, sentences like

(22)	*ārō varuvā	Someone will come
(23)	*ārāvatu vantā	Someone came

(24) *āreyāvatu pāttēṉ	I saw someone
(25) *ārukkāvatu kuṭuttēṉ	I gave it to someone

are ungrammatical. This shows that there are some verbal constraints in the use of these types of pronouns and the present note investigates such constraints found in the case of the first set which is used both in the negative and in the positive sentences.[1]

(26) ārum varuvā	Anybody will come
(27) ārum varamāṭṭā	Nobody will come.[2]
(28) ārum ceyvā	Anybody will do
(29) ārum ceyyamāṭṭā	Nobody will do

Note the following :

(30) *ārum vantā	Anybody came
(31) *ārum ceytā	Anybody did
(32) *ārum vārā	Anybody comes
(33) *ārum ceyyā	Anybody does

The only difference between 26-29 and 30-33 is that the former is in future and the latter is in non-future. It clearly shows that *ārum* cannot occur in the non-future, i.e. all the sentences of non-future with *ārum* are ungrammatical.

But this is not true in all the cases. Note the following :

(34) ārum varalle	Nobody came.
(35) ārum varamāṭṭā	Nobody will come.
(36) ārum ceyyallē	Nobody did.
(37) ārum ceyyamāṭṭā	Nobody will do.
(38) ārum vantatulle	Nobody had come.

These examples clearly show that *ārum* can occur in the past if it is negative. This is also true when this pronoun occurs in causal relation to the verb. When positive sentences like

(39) *nāṉ āreyum pāttēṉ	I saw anybody.
(40) *nāṉ ārukkum kuṭuttēṉ	I gave (it) to anybody.
(41) *nāṉ āruṭṭeyum vāṅkiṉēṉ	I got it from anybody.
(42) *nāṉ āruṭṭēyum pēsiṉēṉ	I spoke to anybody.

are ungrammatical, the following negative sentences are good Tamil sentences :

(43) nāṉ ārēyum pākkalle	I didn't see anybody.
(44) nāṉ ārukkum kuṭukkalle	I didn't give to anybody.

(45) nāṉ āruṭṭēyum vāṅkalle I didn't get from anybody.
(46) nāṉ āruṭṭēyum pēsalle I didn't talk to anybody.

This shows that all the negative sentences with *ārum* whether they are in the past, present or in future are fine.

Let us go back to the question of the sentences in the past. We have shown that sentences like

(30) ārum vantā are ungrammatical. But

(47) ārum vantāḷ-ā Did anybody come ?
(48) ārum irukkāḷā Is there anybody ?
(49) ārum pattāḷā Did anybody see ?
(50) ārum vārāḷā Does anybody come ?

are o.k. with the present author though sentences with *ārāvatu* are preferred to the above.

(51) ārāvatu vantāḷā Did anybody come ?
(52) ārāvatu irukkāḷā Is anybody there ?
(53) ārāvatu pāttāḷā Did anybody see ?
(54) ārāvatu vārāḷā Does anybody come ?

This is also true in the case of causal expression. When sentences like 39-42 are not grammatical the following are grammatical :

(55) nāṉ ārēyum pattēṉā Did I see anybody ?
(56) nāṉ arukkum kuṭuttēṉā Did I give to anybody ?
(57) nāṉ āruṭṭēyum vāṅkiṉēṉā Did I get (it) from anybody ?
(58) nāṉ āruṭṭeuym pēsiṉēṉā Did I speak to anybody ?
(59) nāṉ āruṭṭeyāvatu pēsiṉēṉā Did I speak to anybody ?

Though these sentences are in the past they are acceptable since they are interrogative. That is, the sentences with a *ārum* are ungrammatical whether they are in the past or present or future provided they are interrogative. Yet examine the following :

(60) *ārumā vantā Is it anybody who came ?
(61) *nāṉā āreyum pātteṉ Is it I who saw anybody ?
(62) *nāṉā ārukkum kututteṉ It is I who gave (it) to anybody ?
(63) *nāṉā āruṭṭēyum vāṅkiṉēṉ Is it I who got (it) from anybody?
(64) *nāṉā āruṭṭēyum pēsiṉēṉ Is it I who spoke to anybody ?

These sentences are not grammatical though they are interrogative. This is the same case with *ārum* in the causal relation also.

(65) *ārum aṅkēyā vantā
(66) *nāṉ ārukkumā kuṭuttēṉ
(67) *nāṉ ārēyumā pāttēṉ
(68) *nāṉ āruṭṭēyumā vāṅkiṉēṉ

The difference between 55-59 and 60-68 is that in the former the interrogative sign *-ā* is added to the verb whereas in the latter it is added to the other constituents. This way of making interrogatives is common in Tamil and this can be seen in the following sentences :

(69) nāṉ avaṉe pāttēṉ	I saw him.
(70) nāṉā avaṉe pāttēṉ	Did I see him ?
(71) nāṉ avaṉeyā pāttēṉ	Did I see *him* ?
(72) nāṉ avaṉe pātteṉā	Did I see him ?

This shows that if the sentences are interrogative they are acceptable provided the interrogative sign is added to the verb only.

Consider the following complex sentences :

(73) eṅkiṭṭe paṭiccā ārum collalle
Nobody (among those who read under me) said.

(74) nāṉ paṭiccatā ārum colluvā
Anybody will say that I studied.

(75) nāṉ paṭiccatā ārum collamāṭṭā
Nobody will say that I have studied.

(76) nāṉ vantatā ārum coṉṉālā
Has anybody said that I came ?

(77) nāṉ vantēṉ-(e)-ṉṉu ārum collamāṭṭā
Nobody will say that I came

These are acceptable whereas the following are not :

(78) *nāṉ paṭiccatā ārum coṉṉā
Anybody said that I studied.

(79) *nāṉ paṭiccatā ārum collukā
Anybody says that I studied.

This can be accounted for as the former consists of grammatical matrix sentences and the latter of ungrammatical sentences like

*ārum coṉṉā and *ārum collukā.

But sentences (where *ārum* is embedded) like

(80) ārum vantatā teriyalle — It is not known that anybody came

(81) nāṉ ārukkum kuṭuttatā neṉakkalle — I don't think that I gave (it) to anybody.

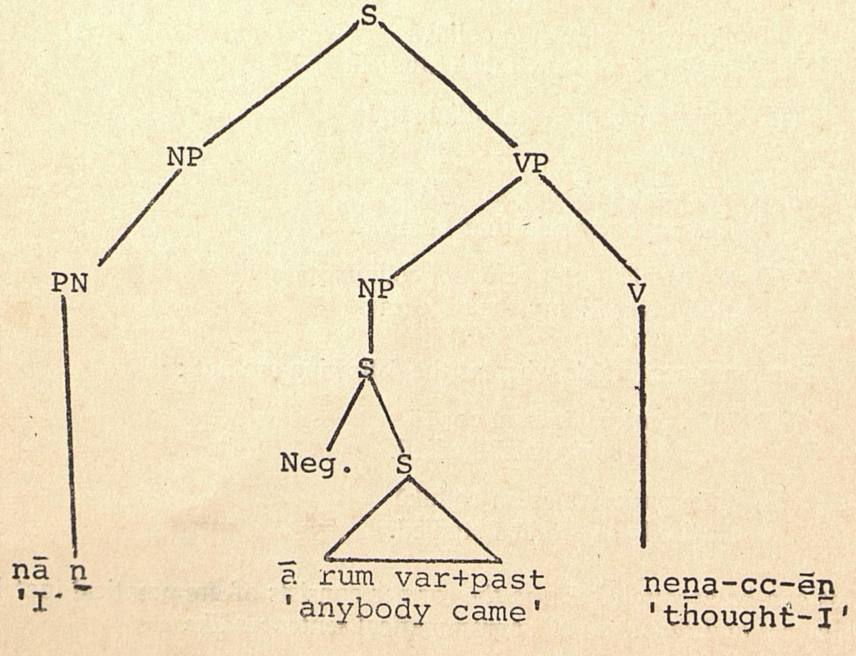
Where *ārum* comes in past positive are grammatical whereas

(82) *ārum vantatā nāṉ neṉappēṉ
I will think that anybody came.

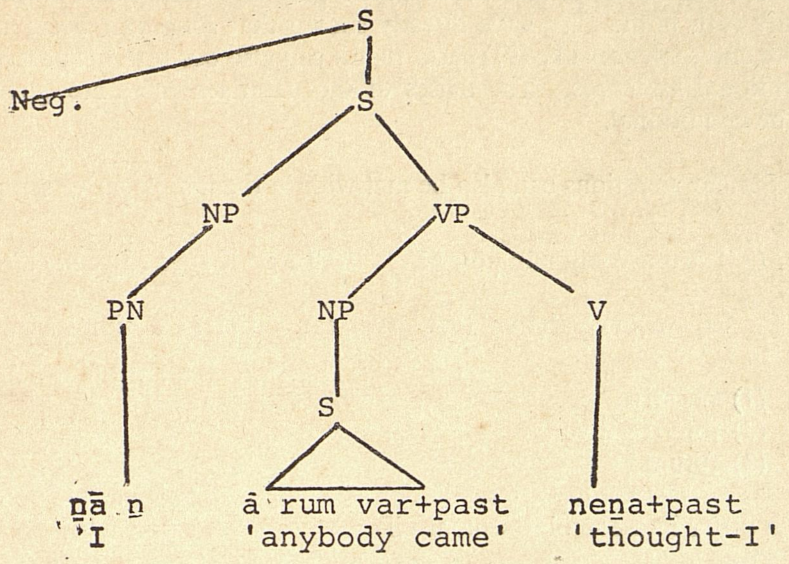
(83) *ārukkum kuṭuttatā neṉappēṉ
I will think that I gave (it) to anybody.

are not possible. The grammaticality and the ungrammaticality of these sentences can be accounted for by the application and the non-application of the negative-transportation rule.[1]

nāṉ ārum varalleṇṇu neṉaccēṉ — I thought that nobody came.



nāṉ ārum vantāṇṇu neṉakkalle I don't think that anybody came



But I am afraid that this does not hold good in the case of

(84) ārum vantu nāṉ pākkalle I didn't see anybody come.
(85) ārum vantate nāṉ pākkalle I didn't see anybody come.

where it is not possible to set up a negative constituent sentence. This also seems to be the case in the interrogative.

(86) ārum vantatā neṉakkeyā Do you think anybody came ?
(87) ārum vantate pātteyā Did you see anybody come ?

This shows that *ārum* can occur without any constraints in the complex sentences provided the main (embedding) sentences are either negative or interrogative.

ārum can also occur in the conditional sentences.

Examine the following :

(88) ārum vantā nāṉ pōvēṉ If anyone comes I will go.
(89) ārum varāṭṭā nāṉ pōvēṉ If no one comes I will go.
(90) ārum vantā nāṉ pōkamāṭṭēṉ If anyone comes I will not go.
(91) ārum vantiruntā nāṉ pōyiruppēṉ If anybody had come I would have gone.

(92) ārum vantiruntā nāṉ pōyirukkamāṭṭēṉ — If anybody had come I would not have gone.

In these sentences we have both future and past conditional and *ārum* occurs with both. We have already shown that *ārum* can occur in the future and sentences like (91) show that it can also occur in the past in the conditional sentences. The tenses of the main sentences are governed by the conditional.

Similar situations can also be met with in the interrogative sentences also.

(93) ārum vantā nāṉ pōvēṉā — Will I go if anybody comes ?

So far we have shown that *ārum* can occur in a simple sentence if it is :

(1) negative
(2) interrogative
(3) future

It can occur in a complex sentence if

(1) the above type of simple sentences are embedded (as subordinate sentences).
(2) the above type are embedding sentences and
(3) the embedding (other than the above) sentences are either
 (*a*) negative.
 (*b*) interrogative.
 (*c*) conditional.

This shows that the pronoun *ārum* ' anybody/nobody ' has many constraints and it is very limited in its usage with VP.

FOOT NOTES

[1] *ārāvatu* can occur in the negative too as in *ārāvatu varamāṭṭāḷā* ' will not somebody come ? ' etc. They are not taken into account here.

[2] Certain constraints found in the case of *ārum* have to be made in the case of *ārāvatu* also. A detailed account of these constraints is worked out by the present author.

[3] In English the difference between the positive and the negative is expressed by *anyone and no one* whereas in Tamil it is expressed only in the verb not in the pronoun.

[4] Robin T. Lakoff, Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation p. 118.

Hero Stones and Folk Beliefs

M. VANAMAMALAI

The discovery of one hundred and twenty six hero stones[1] in Chengam taluk, North Arcot District, Tamilnadu, is a very important event revolutionising our concepts of social and cultural history of Tamilnadu. It is all the more important because of the inscriptions they bear. The chronological range and the qualitative differences in iconographic and paleographic representations found in them afford the scholar opportunity to investigate them and postulate a hypothesis about the spiritual faith of the people who erected and worshipped these stones.

The new materials brought to light by the archaeologists of Tamilnadu must be compared with literary materials of the earlier periods in order to form a series of conceptual system of the faiths and beliefs that inspired the worshippers of the hero stones. My aim in this paper is to construct conceptual system of the faiths and beliefs of our ancient people about the hero stones in different epochs of our history and link these systems of beliefs historically on the basis of literary and archaeological evidence in order to trace the development of folk beliefs regarding the souls of the heroes. I shall make use of the knowledge handed down to us in the fields of literature, cultural anthropology, folklore and epigraphy about hero stones and other monuments to ancestors, to construct a theory about the beliefs and faith of worshippers of the hero stones.

Hero stones of Chengam are dated from the 5th century A.D. to 16th century A.D. Other hero stones discovered earlier in Tamilnadu and Kerala are also taken into account.

Literary references

The hero stones are mentioned in *Akanāṉūṟu* and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and other poems traditionally classified as *caṅkam* poems. *Tolkāppiyam,* a grammar of the *caṅkam* age, on the date of which there is no agreement among literary scholars, and *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai,* a later text of the 8th century A.D. refer to monuments erected to kings, generals and other members of the elite sections of society who died fighting for their king or country, as *Naṭukal* (erected stone). There are only a very few references to hero stones erected in honour of common soldiers who fell

fighting for their liege-lords, and to folk heroes who fell fighting marauders and cattle-lifters and invaders. The first kind of hero stones are mentioned more frequently than the second. We shall call the first kind of stones, *elite hero stones* and the second *folk hero stones.*

The information relevant to our study found in literary texts is summarised below. There were unsculptured pieces of stone standing as monuments to fallen heroes. There were also pieces of sculpture representing the fallen hero. They were set up in streets and road junctions.[2] There were no crêches or buildings, sheltering these stones. The sculptured stones are called '*Kaṭavuḷ eḻutia kal*'[3] 'கடவுள் எழுதிய கல்' i.e. god inscribed stones, in *caṅkam* classics. Most of these stones celebrate the glorious memory of the deaths of kings and generals in battle. They are monuments to kings and generals, who fell in battle. To illustrate : *Puṟam* 231 informs us about the death of *Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci*, wounded in battle by a spearthrust.[4] *Puṟam* 243 tells us about the hero stone erected in honour of his memory.[5] *Avvai* (ஔவை) has an elegiac poem in *Puṟam* in which she mourns the death of her patron.

She bemoans that *Atiyamāṉ* had become a stone and was fed with sacrificial food in a small bowl.[6]

This stone is described as a stone adorned with a peacock feather. So this must have been unsculptured stone. The adorning of the stone with peacock feathers and offering food and drink before the stones can easily be seen to have been sacrificial rituals. References to such stones are found in *Akam*, *Puṟam* and other *Caṅkam* texts. *Mailai cēṉi Vēṅkaṭasāmy* observes that hero stones pertaining to *caṅkam* age have not been unearthed.[7]

We find descriptions of rituals in *caṅkam* classics and standardised prescription of rituals and worship in *Tolkāppiyam*, rituals appear to be worship and propitiation rites to the disembodied souls of kings and generals. They then refer to elite hero stones.

The hero stones were set up in the earliest days of the origin of the custom, in sites near the death of the hero. The hero stones were erected near the graves of dead heroes. But when burning of the dead became a common practice, the hero stones began to be set up in the village of his birth or any other place where members of his family lived. What is at the root of this practice, custom and ritual ? It is the belief in the divisible nature of the soul, a part of which can reside in a part of a tree, animal, bird or stone, prevalent among tribal people and ancient folks.

This conclusion can be inferred from the ritual accompanying the ceremonial erection of hero stones. *Tolkāppiyam* mentions six stages

in the ritual ceremonies connected with the erection of hero stones. He enumerates them as follows (1) *Kāṭci* (காட்சி) i.e. discovery, (2) *Kāl Kōḷ* (கால் கோள்) i.e. invitation, (3) *Nīrpaṭai* (நீர்ப்படை) i.e. ceremonial bathing of the stone, (4) *Naṭutal* (நடுதல்) i.e. erection, (5) *Perumpaṭai* (பெரும்படை) i.e. food offering and (6) *Vāḻttu* (வாழ்த்து) i.e. invocation and blessing.

Let me interpret the ceremonies in the light of knowledge of rituals, magic and worship that anthropology places in our hands. The first ritual consists in choosing the stone to be erected as a hero stone. Why should the oracle choose a particular stone to be defined ? The reason is to be found in the belief of the ancient people in the divisible nature of the souls, a part of it may be deposited safely in a place outside the body. ' Primitive man takes his soul out of his body and deposits it for security in a safe spot intending to replace it in his body when the danger is past.'

Evidence of this primitive belief is furnished by a class of folk stories. ' On the theory here suggested wherever totemism is found, and wherever pretence is made of killing and bringing to life again the novice at initiation there may exist or have existed not only a belief in the possibility of permanently depositing the soul in some external object—animal, plant, or part of a plant '. J. G. Frazer, illustrates this theory with hundreds of tribal legends and folk tales. We can extend this theory to the soul that has left its body for ever. A part of it can reside in a favourite haunt even after death. It could be persuaded to visit a particular spot and temporarily remain there if people sacrificed and invoked the soul to visit the place. A soul could make a stone or tree its temporary habitation. So, a soul that has departed this world can leave its double to haunt a particular spot in this world. Even after the soul's departure to a different world it can return to the place where its double resides. It is this favourite haunt of the soul that the oracle seeks and finds.

Later, people began to believe that it was not necessary to discover the favourite haunt of the soul but persuade it to enter into a particular stone by means of sacrifice and rituals. Such beliefs are prevalent among Tamil folks even today. They believe that a disembodied soul can reside in a stone for a few days till the funeral ceremonies are over. The rituals mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* can be the identification of a stone where the soul resided or can reside.

' *Nīrpaṭai* ', the second rite is a ceremonial bath. Water was believed to have possessed magical properties by all ancient peoples. Observing the fertilising property of water the ancient people ascribed many magical properties to it. Thus water from particular spots was considered to have the property of curing barrenness. A prince, before he assumes kingship is bathed in sacred water. The water is believed to

bestow on him certain divine powers. Thus if the stone is bathed accompanied by specific ceremonies it will become worthy of being the abode of a hero's soul. This is the belief underlying the rite of ceremonial or ritual bath. *Tolkāppiyar* calls this rite *Nīrpaṭai*. The third in the series of rites is separating the stone from the quarry.

The fourth rite is '*Nāṭukal*' (erecting the stone). The fifth and the sixth follow the fourth. They are *perumpaṭai* and *Vāḻttu* (the great offering and invocation). The stone is erected in a place chosen by the oracle and then offerings are made. This is followed by singing invocatory songs and ritual dancing.

A later text of the 8th century mentions 6 rites of which 4 are the same prescribed by *Tolkāppiyar*. The last two are *Kalmuṟai paḻiccal* (கல்முறை பழிச்சல்), Il *Koṇṭu Pukutal* (இல்கொண்டு புகுதல்) i.e. offerings and invocation and taking the stone to its abode. The author of this text, *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpā Mālai* clubs the rites of offering and invocation together under one section. What is a new development in the ritual series is the sixth. The sixth rite is fixing the stone in its abode. They construct a tiny megalithic structure and place the stone in it. This is called the house of the stone, *il* (இல்).

The information gleaned from *Tolkāppiyam* refer to the period called the *caṅkam age* (1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.). The definitions and prescriptions contained in *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpā Mālai* refer to the post-*caṅkam age* (4th century A.D. to 8th century A.D.). The hero stones and the rituals associated with the ceremonial erection of the stones were memorials to kings and nobles. Only a very few of them were erected in honour of folk heroes.

But the Chengam hero stones are all memorials erected to commemorate the death of folk heroes. They were servants, soldiers or village guards. The inscriptions on the stones inform us that these heroes died in skirmishes when they fought against cattle lifters, marauders or invading armies that passed through the village spreading destruction. These battles are called '*pūcal*'. The inscriptions specifically state the circumstance of death of each hero.

The Chengam stones were erected in honour of folk heroes of low descent.

> The servant of *Viṇṇaṉar*
> *Gangaraisaru's servant*
> The guard of *Karuṅkalippaṭ*.[8]

Their names also point to their low status in society ; e.g. *Akkantaikoṭaṉ* (அக்கந்தைக் கோடன்), *Kākaṇṭi Aṇṇāvaṉ* (காகண்டி அண்ணாவன்), *Karuñcāttaṉ's* son (கருஞ்சாத்தனார் மகன்).

The circumstances of the death of the heroes of the hero stones are clearly stated in the inscriptions on the hero stones.

A few fell while rescuing cattle herds carried off by kings, feudal lords or hunters. The words '*Toṟu iṭuvittu Paṭṭāṉ*' (தொறு இடுவித்துப் பட்டான்) are clear enough. They mean 'fell after winning back the cattle carried off. A few fell while obstructing the kings and feudal lords attempting to carry off the cattle from a village. This deed is indicated by the words '*Pūcalil Paṭṭāṉ*' (பூசலில் பட்டான்), i.e. died in a skirmish.[9]

The Chengam hero stones are memorial stones to deified folk heroes who fell defending the village against marauders or while attempting to protect the cattle wealth of the people of their own villages. Mainly the bone of contention was a buffalo herd. Less often it was a cow herd or a folk of sheep. The inscriptions refer to *Erumai Thoṟu*, herd of buffaloes, and *Aṉ thoṟu* (herd of cows). From the above, the following picture of the social life of the region emerges. The people of the Chengam region were prosperous in cattle wealth. The surrounding tribal people under their chieftains raided their villages and carried off their cattle. Now and then the feudal lords who held sway over tribal regions also joined the tribals and incited them to descend upon the peaceful villages, and rob the people of their cattle. The Chengam farmers and peasants organised themselves for defence against such attacks. They honoured the memory of men who fell defending the village or while fighting to regain stolen cattle. They were simple folk heroes who sacrificed their lives for a common cause.

We now turn our attention to the question, what faith or belief inspired them to erect hero stones in memory of the folk heroes and what system of beliefs underlie the rituals and ceremonies associated with the ceremonial erection and worship of the hero stones.

To find an answer to these questions we must seek the aid of cultural anthropology and folklore. Prehistoric peoples and modern tribal people believed that disembodied souls possess more power than souls residing in bodies.[10] It can manifest itself as constructive or destructive energy.[11] The disembodied souls have a partiality for their descendants. If the survivors of a deceased hero, to please the disembodied soul by sacrifices, dances and worship, it will add its own power to their store of spiritual and physical energy. It will help them in battle, protect their herds and flocks and crops.[12] This set of beliefs are found among modern tribes in all countries of the world. They are the underlying faith on which ancestor worship rests. The tribal people of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, South Sea islands and Red Indians in South America practise a particular form of ancestor worship.[13] The souls of ancestors are objectified as baked clay dolls and are worshipped periodically.

In India Brahmins worship 'pithrus', ancestors in human form paying worship to three Brahmins on the day of the death anniversary of their parents or grand parents. They feed the Brahmins and believe that if they are satisfied, the souls of the ancestors will be satisfied.[14]

Before the dawn of civilisation, the prehistoric people in the stage of lower savagery believed that their ancestor was an animal.[15] This belief led to a stream of ritual customs and taboos. But it is a higher stage of social evolution, the animal became a mere symbol and a name.[16] They began to believe that their ancestors were humans. The souls of the humans can charge them with energy that can be used for constructive or destructive purposes.[17] The widespread faith in ancestral souls and their power is prevalent in all parts of the world.

The tribal law forbids hurting or killing a member of one's own tribe. Thus the law of Moses : ' A tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye and blood for blood '. But tribal law does not forbid a member of a tribe to kill aliens. On the other hand, a few tribal people believe that if they kill an alien and perform all the funeral rites that are performed when their parents die, the soul will become an adopted ancestor. This soul will join the ancestors of the tribes and augments the power potential of the tribe.[18] This belief is prevalent among certain clans of Nagas, the head hunters of Sarawak and the Hottentots of Africa.[19] The prestige of a man in the head hunting tribes is proportional to the number of men he kills, so that their souls join the ancestral 'soul-army' of the tribe. Even after societies outgrew the tribal mode, many faiths and beliefs which originated in tribal life still lingered as survivals for many centuries. We find in the hero stone rituals a belief that the soul to which worship is made and rituals conducted will augment their might, protect their cattle and crops and aid them to regain the cattle they lose to the raiders. The rituals associated with hero stones were directed towards achieving power to defend themselves against raiders, to charge themselves with power from supernatural souls to fight against their enemies and a beneficial effect on crops and herds.

In the 7th, 8th centuries A.D. the villagers had donated lands to the hero stones. The income from this land was to be spent to meet the expenses for celebrations. A record speaks of the stone as a soul, *āvi* (ஆவி). This is clear evidence to prove that the folks believed that the stone was the abode of a soul.

In a later period we notice a new development in the belief and faith of the folks regarding souls of the heroes. The early stones of Chengam have only one horizontal panel in which the hero is represented in a wounded state with arrows sticking out of his chest. This is a realistic representation of the heroic deed of the folk hero. His soul

must be worshipped to turn it into a beneficial spirit. This belief is simple.

The beliefs and faith of the elite that the fallen heroes are welcomed into a special world of glory influenced the simple belief of the folks. This stage of mingling of the two beliefs is represented in a few panels of hero stones. These panels contain two horizontal layers one representing the simple belief and the other the elite belief. The lower layer represents the wounded hero and the upper layer two goddesses with garlands standing ready to welcome the hero to their world.[20] This faith of a glorious hero's heaven for those fallen in battle was widespread among people passing from the tribal stage to the heroic stage of civilisation. Walhalla of the Germanic peoples, Elysium of the Greeks and *Vēra Swarga* of the Aryans and *Mēlōr Ulaku* (மேலோர் உலகு) of the Tamils are instances of this belief. But the soul that ascends to the hero's heaven can visit a place on earth where a monument was erected to it.

A few hero stones found in Tamilnadu and Kerala have three horizontal layers. The first two layers are similar to those found in two layer stones in Chengam. The third layer depicts the soul of the hero standing with folded hands before a *liṅka*.[20] An image of *Nanti* is found in one corner of the panel. This indicates a new development in the belief structure of the folks regarding the final destiny of the souls of heroes. Saivite Bhakti movement overwhelmed Tamil people from the 6th to 8th centuries. The religious faith of Saivism postulated the highest heaven, *Sivalōka* for the blessed. The folks counted their heroes among the blessed, and promoted them to *Sivalōka*. So the *Mēlōr ulaku* became a transit camp of the departed soul on its way to highest glory, life in *Sivalōka*.

Though the destination of the hero's soul was changed in the belief of the folks, they carried on their rituals and ceremonies before the hero stones only with the purpose of obtaining material benefits.

FOOT NOTES

[1] R. NAGASWAMY, *Chengam Naṭukaṟkaḷ,* Department of Archaeology, Madras. This book contains texts of about 60 inscriptions on hero stones discovered in Chengam Taluk. Thiru Nagaswamy, Director of the Department of Archaeology, Madras, informed me that 126 hero stones have so far been discovered in the Chengam Taluk.

[2] *Kavalaiya Kal.* (கவலைய கல்) Reference in Caṅkam classics.
[3] *Kaṭavuḷ eḻutia Kal.* (கடவுள் எழுதிய கல்)
[4] *Puṟam* 231
[5] *Puṟam* 243
[6] This poem mentions the hero stone erected to the memory of Atiyamāṉ. The ritual of feeding a spirit is also mentioned.

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[7] *Ārāicci*—Vol. I., No. 2, p. 190.

[8] R. Nagaswamy : *Chengam Naṭukaṟkaḷ*—Dept. of Archaeology.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Note the tribal and folk myths about souls of heroes or other distinguished men. Hamlyn Myths and legends series.

[11] Note the propitiatory and invocatory worship of terrible and beneficient gods and goddesses in folk lore (மூர்க்க தேவதை, சாந்த தேவதை)

[12] Note the belief underlying shrādhās performed to propitiate parents and ancestors.

[13] Hamlyn series, myths and legends—AFRICA—Margaret Carey—p. 18.

[14] *Totemic ancestral belief*—Refer A. L. Kroeber's Anthropology—Chapter on Totemism.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Names of Gōtras of Rishis are names of animals such as frog, dog, tortoise etc. In the modern caste communities there are clan names like cempothu (செம்போத்து) Owl (ஆந்தை). These are mere names.

[17] J. G. Frazer : *Golden Bough*, chapter on 'Temporary gods'.

[18] K. N. Majumdar : *Races and peoples of India*—Reference to head hunting in the chapter on Prestige and Social rank.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] (1) *A few stones of Chengam*, (2) *Paulapaḷḷi hero stones.*
(2) A picture of this is printed in *Ārāicci* Vol. III, No. 2.

[21] *Paulapaḷḷi hero stones.* The contents of panels is explained in this section.

Kolkie

J. R. SINNATAMBY

The word Kolkie which is referred to as Kolchis (Colchis) in ancient historical and geographical works, by such historians and geographers as Herodotus and Ptolemy, would appear to provide very valuable clues for the elucidation of some historical and geographical problems.

This word is used by Herodotus in his historical works and by Ptolemy in his geography of the then known world. Of particular interest is the occurrence of this word and the word Phesis, name of a river, both in the Black Sea and Gulf of Mannar areas.

Caldwell, as will be seen in the sequel, traces this name to the Tamil language implying an army.

Apparently this word in various modified forms has been used to denote Gulfs, Cities and Peoples where Colonies were formed by army settlements.

Herodotus refers to the people in the Black Sea area as Colchians, a people that would appear to have been transported to this area by an Egyptian king.

This word would also appear to denote *Koṟkei* a town in India as well as the Gulf of Mannar, described by Ptolemy as, Colchicus Sinus, in his geography, which also refers to this gulf as the place where the pearl fisheries lie.

Caldwell's analysis of this word is of interest. According to him Kolchis (Colchis) is actually Koṟkei (Kolkei), a town in India, meaning an army. He has pointed out this in his book *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.*[1] I have dealt with this in detail in my work *Ceylon in Retrospect.* I have mentioned that 'He (Caldwell) has pointed out that this place is mentioned by Ptolemy and Periplus and is one of the few places mentioned in the ' Peutinger-Tables ' where it is called " Colcis Indorum ", and that the Tamil name of the place " *Koṟkie* " is almost identical with the Greek. He has also observed that "Kol " in Tamil means " Slay " and " Kei " is hand, meaning " hand of slaughter " and that Kolkei is the poetical term for an army or camp. He also says that in so far as the two words included in this name are

concerned, the Tamil language does not seem to have altered in the slightest from that day to this.'

The following extract from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* is of much relevance and interest in this context : ' several of the chief towns of the district stand upon the banks of the Tamraparni . . . . Near the mouth of the river is Kolkai, the first capital of the Pandyans, the earliest seat of the Dravidian civilization, and once a famous seaport. The silt from the river ruined its career as a seaport and it is now five miles from the sea ; its place was taken by Kayal, where Marco Polo landed, but this also silted up and the Portuguese then established Tuticorin as the chief port on this coast. The pearl and " chank " fisheries off the mouth of the Tamraparni were once very famous, being frequently mentioned in Tamil literature.'[2]

Apparently a conscript army was employed on the Pearl Fisheries. Hence the tradition that the Pandyans employed criminals on the Pearl Fisheries. In fact the first European armies to arrive in the Colchis Gulf area, in Ceylon and India, were formed according to Portuguese historians, by emptying the prisons of Portugal of their convicts, who preferred to risk their freedom in foreign climes and unknown lands than languish in jail for years if not for the rest of their lives.

Reverting to the use of this word by Herodotus, it is not impossible that the Egyptian king Sesostris did actually include these Pearl Fisheries in his conquests. This question too has been dealt with in some detail in my work referred to already, where I have pointed out ' Herodotus clearly stresses the relationship between the Colchians and the Egyptians, and what is of particular importance, is the stress laid by Herodotus' on the conquests of Sesostris, who left behind an army of Colchians in the Caucasus region, being more far reaching Man Darius. This makes it very probable that he had also included the ' Colchis ' gulf between South India and North west of Ceylon and also the area up to the river Phasis in the North-west of Ceylon, depicted in Ptolemy's map, both of Ceylon and the Caucasus, in his conquests.

This would appear to receive confirmation from the observation of Herodotus quoted above where he says ' This king . . . . set out . . . . from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vesssels. After returning from thence back to Egypt, he marched over the mainland . . . . '. ' It is also very significant, that, the Red Sea as understood in ancient times did not end at Aden but reached the Indian coasts, as can be inferred from what Lahovary says, ' Ch Autran has moreover observed that for the Greeks, the Red Sea or Erythree Thalassa did no end at Aden but reached Indian Coasts '.[3] This is confirmed by

Ptolemy's geography where the Gulf of Aden has been described as the Red Sea and the Red Sea of today is the Arabian Gulf. This is also confirmed by the geography of Orosius.[4]

The reference to a shallow sea is of interest, as the Mannar Gulf, between South India and the North-west of Ceylon, where lie the Pearl Fisheries is a shallow sea and of which Ribeiro in his book on Ceylon, says ' From Cape Comorin the coast called the " coast of the Fishery " runs inland making a gulf between Ceilao and the mainland similar to the Adriatic ; this has a length of 57 leagues, and a breadth of 36, with its centre in the islands of Ramanacer and Mannar, between which bay flows over 12 leagues of sand banks. Here it is not possible to sail to the coast of Choromandel except by two very narrow channels, at Ramanacer and Mannar, through each of which only a small sumaca can make its way and that too when the sea is high.'[5]

I must also refer to an interesting reference to the Colchis people of the Caucasian area as a military colony by Lahovary. In his book *Dravidian Origins and the West*, he says ' as for the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, they thought they had so much in common with people of Caucasian Colchis that they imagined them to be descended from a military colony of Sesostris which had, in reality, never existed.'[6]

It would now appear, in view of the definite identification of Kolkie, (Colchis in Latin), with an army, which in effect is a military colony, that Herodotus and the Egyptians were correct. And Herodotus stands vindicated once more.

This identification of *Koṛkie* by Caldwell also helps to clear some confusion caused by the reference to the ambassadors sent by Wijeya to Madura for a Princess. The Mahawamsa clearly refers to Madura as the Madura in Southern India but says that the ambassadors reached the place by ship. It is now clear that the capital of the Pandyans, (Madura when the Mahawamsa was written in the 5th century A.D.), was then actually *Koṛkie* which was on the coast before silting took place.

In fact Ptolemy's geography (100 A.D.) clearly describes Madura as *Modura Regia Pandionis*. This also makes the identification of the area from where the Princess came, namely South India, more probable and incidentally provides additional evidence to prove the accuracy of the geography of the Mahawamsa.

This early contact between Anuradhapura and Madura from the time of Wijeya can also be inferred from what Fernando says, ' a close parallel to the early Brahmi records of Ceylon is offered by some interest-

ing Brahmi records in South India . . . . Pandyan country. So alike those at Mihintale, Vessagiriya and such other ancient sites. Also bedsteads like at Mihintale and Vessagiriya.'[7]

' Inscriptions at Arikamedu in South India same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. Scribes are same in India and Ceylon and differing from those who carved records of Asoka, was existing in South India and Ceylon and practising its arts even before the time of Asoka.'[8]

REFERENCES

[1] CALDWELL, R. : A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 99.
[2] The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 23 ; p. 216.
[3] LAHOVARY : Dravidian Origins and the West, p. 30.
[4] ALFRED, KING : English translation of King Alfred's Anglo Saxon version of Orosius, p. 31.
[5] RIBEIRO : Ceylon, p. 7.
[6] LAHOVARY : *op. cit*, p. 39.
[7] FERNANDO : University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 222, 283-84, & 295.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

The Tamil Aspectual System: A Transformational Grammar

HAROLD F. SCHIFFMAN

CHAPTER I

TENSE, MODE, AND ASPECT IN TAMIL*

Introduction

The Tamil aspectual system presents a number of difficulties which have been examined in recent literature as well as in more traditional treatises on the subject of verbal aspect. Before an analysis of the Tamil system can be attempted, it is necessary to examine the literature to date to see what implications various analyses have for the Tamil system.

Of the older literature, few grammars treat the problem with any great sophistication. Beythan (1943), an otherwise excellent work, simply does not mention the problem of aspect at all. Pope (1911), purportedly a grammar of the 'ordinary', i.e., colloquial dialect of Tamil, at least mentions the occurrence of aspect markers, but takes the traditional view that those which are semantically quite similar to the main verbs which they resemble phonologically are in fact occurrences of those main verbs, affixed to another verb. But those aspect markers whose meaning is quite different from main verbs Pope calls 'auxiliaries', or 'roots'. Pope briefly discusses the 'verbs' /kāṇ/ 'see', /pōṭu/ 'set', which he acknowledges to have a 'malevolent' nuance when added to another verb,[1] /vay/ 'put, keep', the auxiliaries /viṭu/ ('completive'), /koḷ(ḷu)/ ('reflexive'), and /iṭu/ 'up' which is probably actually an occurrence of /viṭu/ but with deleted initial /v/, since present-day occurrence of /viṭu/ always occur without /v/. Pope also notes the use of the auxiliary verb /aṭi/ 'beat', with the meaning 'down', i.e., similar to 'down' in English constructions like 'burn down', 'break down', etc. Finally Pope notes the use of one 'root', /āṭu/ 'play'.

Pope does not go beyond a listing and labeling of the above-mentioned items. No attempt at an analysis is made, except to label some of the items differently, although we can only assume that this is what he intended, since he does not state this explicitly.

Caldwell (1856, revised 1875) does not mention the problem. His work is mainly concerned with the comparative morphology of the various Dravidian languages, and syntax is given very little treatment, except to mention the SOV word order. One exception should be mentioned—Caldwell discusses briefly (1875 : 464) the use of /āku/ ' become ' as a *passive*, which is of course the ' non-agentive ' type of construction which often translates most easily into English as a passive.

> A very common mode of forming the passive is by means of the preterite verbal participle of any neuter or active verb, followed by the preterite (third person singular neuter) of the verbs to become, to be, to go, or (occasionally) to end. Thus, we may say either *muṭintatu*, it is finished, or *muṭint' āyiṟṟu* literally, having finished it is become. This form adds the idea of completion to that of passivity : not only is the thing done, but the doing of it is completed . . . . *Pōyiṟṟu*, it has gone, may generally be used in such phrases instead of *āyiṟṟu*, it is become.

Caldwell also mentions the reflexive /koḷ/ but not in any connection with aspectual notions or aspectual constructions.

Arden (1942 : 265-85) has the best treatment of any of the grammars, although his interpretation and analysis leave something to be desired. He analyzes the use of /iru/ when affixed to a main very in the traditional fashion, i.e., as a ' perfect ' tense marker, ignoring any ' stative ' or ' suppositional ' meanings, which, as we shall see later, can make for ambiguities in some cases. Arden does mention the ' durative ' use of /iru/, but his analysis is misleading, since he claims that

> When the Verbal Participle is prefixed to the Past Tense of *iru*, the Compound Tense thus formed has sometimes the force not of a Pluperfect but of an Imperfect Past Tense. Hence, *ceytiruntēṉ* may not only mean *I had made*, but also I was making.[2]

Arden then gives an example of this ' imperfect past ' in the sentence /oru kuyavaṉ pāṉai caṭṭikaḷ ceytu viṟṟu, jīvaṉam paṇṇikkoṇṭu iruntāṉ/ ' A certain potter was getting his living (by) making and selling pots and pans.'[3] It is probable, however, that the ' durative ' notion in this sentence is supplied by /koṇṭu iruntāṉ/ rather than by just /iruntāṉ/. But it is clear that Arden recognizes possible ambiguities in the use of /iru/.

Arden also mentions some other verbs which have idiomatic uses, namely, /paṭu/, /pō/, and /āku/, as well as the ' intensive ' verbs /viṭu/ ' leave ', /pōṭu/ ' put ', /vay/ ' put ', /vā/ ' come ', and /pō/ ' go ' in the ' intensive ' sense. Arden states that the addition of these verbs ' intensifies ' the meaning of other verbs, but with no elaboration of just

what kind of 'intensity' is meant. He gives examples of sentences with /viṭu/, but none with /pōṭu/.

Arden also states that the addition of /vay/ is equivalent to the addition of /viṭu/ or /pōṭu/, i.e., that it intensifies the meaning of the verb; he does not mention a 'future utility' notion which one finds today. But Arden also notes that 'compound tenses' are more common in modern Tamil than in the more ancient works.

Again in the discussion of 'continuity', Arden gives examples of /vā/ suffixed to verbs, but his examples all have /vā/ preceded by /koṇṭu/, e.g., /peṟṟukkoṇṭu vantāṉ/ 'used to get', /naṭappittukkoṇṭu varukaiyil/ 'whilst . . . . continuing to cause . . . . to be carried on.' Finally, he mentions the use of /pō/ with change-of-state verbs to 'intensf(y) its meaning by giving to it the force of completeness' (Arden 1942 : 283).

The use of /āku/ when affixed to another verb to express completion is also mentioned by Arden, e.g., /nīṅkal coṉṉatellām ceytāyiṟṟu/ 'All that you said has been done.' But other aspectual notions contributed by the use of /āku/ are not mentioned.

Of the modern grammar of Tamil, especially those done in the first years following the publication of Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, such as Ramanujan (1963b), Agesthialingom Pillai (1963), Diffloth (1965), and Bright and Lindenfeld (1968), the concern is with the syntax of various elements, so that although these works account for the data quite adequately, little discussion of the meanings contributed by the addition of these verbal elements is found. This is largely because in the theoretical bases underlying these works, semantics is viewed as being handled by another, interpretive, component, separate from the syntax. In what follows, we will discuss the difficulties presented by such a view of semantics, and propose alternatives to that view.

One of the first problems is to define what is meant by various terminological systems that have been used in the past for discussions of language which are recognized to have the category of verbal aspect, and to determine what universal features these aspectual systems exhibit, if any. Many terminological systems are, of course, based on surface structure features of Indo-European languages, and since surface structures tend to be unreliable for the determination of meaning, most traditional analyses of categories such as aspect or mode are unable to define them universally or even in a general way which might throw some light on how these systems might be characterized in a language like Tamil.

In Tamil, the surface-syntactic constituent which seems to add aspectual notions to the verb has sometimes been referred to as an

aspectual auxiliary. Since many treatments of English aspect involve derivation of aspect from the VP with subsequent attachment of aspect and modals to Tense (Hofmann 1966 : 11), the question arises whether this is appropriate for Tamil, or at least whether there is some relationship between Tamil aspect markers and Tamil modals and tense markers. Let us therefore examine some examples of fairly simple sentences in Tamil and contrast them with sentences where mode and possibly some other categories are expressed.

(1) /nāṉ varrēṉ/ 'I come.'
1 2 1 2

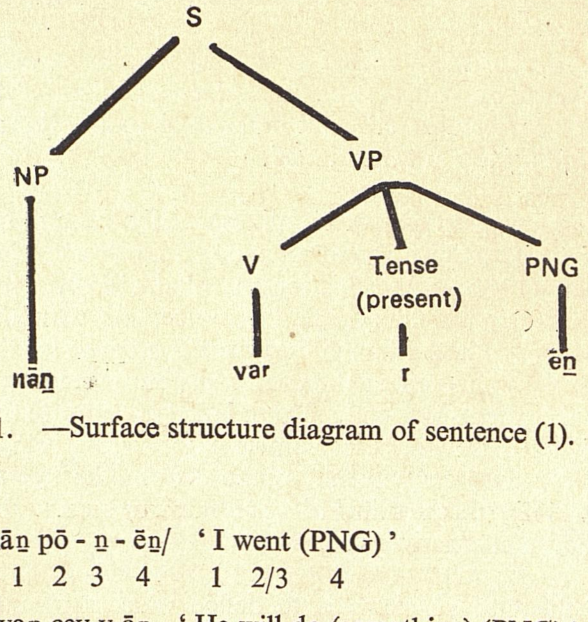

Fig. 1. —Surface structure diagram of sentence (1).

(2) /nāṉ pō - ṉ - ēṉ/ 'I went (PNG)'
1 2 3 4 1 2/3 4

(3) /avaṉ cey-v-āṉ 'He will do (something) (PNG)'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(4) /nīṅka paṭi--kkr-iṅka/ 'You study (PNG)'
1 2 3 4 1 2/3 4

(5) /nāṅka pā-pp-ōm/ 'We will see (PNG)'
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

These sentences all have the structure shown in Fig. 1. Three tenses are possible, present,past, and future, although the future is less frequently used as a pure tense, in the colloquial language, so the present is often used instead, as in

(6) /nālekki ūr-ukku pō-r-ēṉ/ ' I'm going to town tomorrow.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 5/6 4 3 2 1

and could be called simply ' non-past ' instead of present. The future, as in sentences (3) and (5), often expresses habitual action, similar to English.

(7) Every time a new movie comes to town, he'*ll* go. such as in

(8) /ava teṉam ātt-ukku pō-v-ā/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

' She would go to the river every-day (PNG) '
1 6 5 4 3 2 7

Aside from this problem of the future marker being ambiguous, with the present or non-past doubling as a ' near future ' in certain instances, the tense system is relatively uncomplicated.

Modals

In Tamil the constituents usually called modals express semantically the notions of possibility, potentiality, permission, and obligation. We have such sentences as the following :

Verb Stem		*Modal*
/vā/ ' come '	(9) /vara-lām/ ' may come '	/lām/ ' may '
/pō/ ' go '	(10) /pōka-lām/ ' may go '	/lām/ ' may '
/cey/ ' do '	(11) /ceyya-vēṇṭām/ ' need not do '	/vēṇṭām/ ' need not ; not necessary '
/pō/ ' go '	(12) /pōka- -ṇum/ ' must go '	/ṇum/ ' must, want to '
/vā/ ' come '	(13) /vara-kūṭātu/ ' should not come '	/kūṭātu/ ' must not, should not '
/paṭi/ ' study '	(14) /paṭikka-muṭiyum/ ' can study '	/muṭiyum/ ' can '
/cey/ ' do '	(15) /ceyya-māṭṭēṉ/ ' I will not do '	/māṭṭ-/ ' Will not '
/pār/ ' see '	(16) /pākka-muṭiyātu/ ' can't see '	/muṭiyātu/ ' cannot '

In the above examples (9-15), the modal is suffixed to the infinitive of the verb, realized as, e.g., /vara/ for the verb stem /vā/ ' come '. The occurrence of infinitive can be predicted and can be inserted by rule. In most cases, except for (15) /māṭṭ-/ and (14) and (16), /muṭi-/, there is no

indication of tense or person-number-gender (henceforth PNG). /māṭṭ-/ is inherently future, and has only PNG markers, but no tense markers. However /māṭṭ-/ can also be introduced by transformation, i.e., Vstem+Fut+Neg.... Vstem+/māṭṭ-/, so that leaves only the positive and negative of /muṭi-/ with tense specification. That is, we also have forms like (17) /pākka-muṭiñcatu ' was possible to see ' and (18) /pākka-muṭiyalle/ ' was not possible to see ' which contrast with (14) and (16). However, this difference in tense could also be analyzed as being a difference in aspect, and in fact examples (17) and (18) differ from (14) and (16) in that they are perfective or completive, while the latter are habitual. We can therefore subsume this apparent exception to the general condition that modals are tenseless, under the rubric of aspect, and state that modals are in fact distinctively tenseless, although some may be redundantly specified for tense.

We thus see that tense and modals never occur together and do not need to be considered as different in source. We can therefore have an expansion rule to replace the one that specified that VP is rewritten as Vstem+Tense+PNG, as follows :

$$VP \rightarrow Vstem + Aux$$

Aux can then be rewritten as Aux→ Tense, Modal. Finally, PNG can be introduced by a late rule of concord which makes PNG agree with the subject.

It should also be noted, in connection with the discussion of the aspectual differences connected with the modal /muṭi/, that this same distinction of habitual-non-habitual is also possible with a number of verbs in the language, usually called defective verbs. They are /teriyum, teriyātu/ ' known, not known ' ; /piṭikkum, piṭikkātu/ ' liked, not liked ' ; /puriyum, puriyātu/ ' understood, not understood ' ; and /vēṇum, vēṇṭām/ ' wanted, not wanted '. These contrast with the non-habitual and also past forms /teriñcatu, teriyalle/ ' was known, was not known ' ; /piṭiccitu, piṭikkalle/ ' was liked, was not liked ' ; /puriñcatu, puriyalle/ ' was understood, was not understood, and /vēṇṭiyatu, vēṇṭiyatulle/ ' was wanted, was not wanted '.

Both /muṭi-/ and the defective verbs differ from ' regular ' non-defective verbs in that they take dative subjects, as in the following examples :

(17) /eṉakku muṭiyum/ ' To me (it is) possible, I can.'
1 2 3 2 1 3

(18) /avaṉ-ukku piṭikkum/ ' To him (it is) liked, he likes it.'
1 2 3 2 1 3

(19) /avar-ukku piṭikkātu/
1 2 3
'To him (it is) not-liked, he doesn't like it.'
2 1 3

(20) /payyaṉ-ukku vēṇṭām/
1 2 3
'To the boy (it is) not-wanted, the boy doesn't want it.'
2 1 3

(21) /ammāv- ukku teriyum/
1 2 3
'To mother (it is) known, mother knows it.'
2 1 3

(22) /vāttyār-ukku teriyātu/
1 2 3
'To teacher (it is) not-known, The teacher doesn't know it.'
2 1 3

To complicate matters more, there are also in the language regular verbs, the stems of which are homonymous with the defective verbs, and also with the modal /muṭi-/ 'able'. For example, homonymous with /piṭi-/ 'like' is /piṭi-/ 'catch, hold' with a complete paradigm of tenses, unlike 'like', which has only neuter forms. For example:

(23) /nāṉ ate piṭi-cc-ēṉ/
1 2 3 4 5
'I catch-past it-acc.' ('I caught it.')
1 3 4 2

(24) /pay rompa piṭi-kk-itu/
1 2 3 4 5
'The pocket holds (pres) (NG) a lot.'
1 3 4 5 2

This last example, since the form of /piṭi-/ is neuter, is ambiguous and could also mean '(someone) likes the pocket very much'. These homophonous verbs can be proven not to have the same deep structure as the modals and defective verbs, however, because their meanings differ. To derive them from the same deep structure would require us to violate the condition that transformations cannot change meaning.[4]

To summarize, there is a class of verbal constituents in Tamil which are called modals because their meaning is similar to modals in other

languages. They are not marked for tense, although aspect is specified for some of them. One constituent which appears at first to behave syntactically somewhat like a modal, /māṭṭ/, 'future negative', can be introduced by transformation, and does not need to be considered here. Furthermore, there are some defective verbs which are very similar in form to some of the modals. At least one of the modals and one of the defective verbs overlap in form and some semantic domains with some non-defective verbs. Because of this overlap, some of the modals can themselves have modals as suffixes, as in

(25) 'atu muṭiya-lām/ 'that may be-possible.'
 1 2 3 1 3 2

It seems therefore that some of the modals have the feature (+verb), whereas others do not, since /-lām/, for example, must always be suffixed to a verb stem, unlike /muṭi-/, which can either occur as a main verb, or as a modal.

Modals and tense together have the same source, and can be derived from Aux.[5]

Aspect

The Tamil verb exhibits, in addition to tense and mode, a category which has been called 'aspect' in many languages. Aspect is marked as a suffix following a lexical verb, as in

(26) /payyaṉ vant-uṭṭ-āṉ/ 'The boy definitely came (PNG).'
 1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

There are a fair number of different aspect markers, each of which is somewhat complex semantically, so that in addition to nuances of aspect, they may add notions such as reflexive, annoyance, disgust, perfect, finality, passive, and others.

Thus we have aspect markers /viṭu/ 'completive', /pōṭu/ 'completive with nuance of malicious intent'; /vay/ 'keep for future use'; /ko/ or /kiṭu/ 'reflexive, self-benefactive'; (/kiṭu/ seems to be a back-formation from the past of /ko/, which is /kiṭṭ-/ in non-brahmin dialects; in some dialects, /kiṭu/ is the underlying form, and /ko/ does not occur at all); /taḷḷu/ 'riddance'; /tole/ 'disgust, impatience; /iru/ 'perfect, stative, suppositional'; /āku/ 'completive, finality'; and /kiṭṭiru/ 'durative'. Each of these aspect markers is homophonous with lexical verbs in the language which do not have the semantic nuance of the corresponding aspectual. Thus /viṭu/ as a lexical verb means 'leave'; /pōṭu/ means 'put'; /vay/ means 'place, keep, put, take'; /ko/ would have to be considered a defective verb in colloquial Tamil, occurring only in compounds and alone only in the neuter future form /koḷḷum/ 'it

contains' or as a verbalizer for certain lexical verbs no longer freely occurring, such as /ottu-ko/ 'agree'. Historically /kiṭṭiru/ 'durative' seems to be derived from /ko/ plus /iru/ but there are some reasons why it is preferable to consider /kiṭṭiru/ as a single item, with no morpheme boundary internally. There are also some other reasons why this is not a good idea, and these will be discussed later.

/iru/ as a lexical verb means 'be'; /āku/ means 'become'; /tole/ means 'lose, get lost'; and /taḷḷu/ means 'push' or 'get rid of'. These aspect markers can occur with any lexical verb with no apparent semantic restrictions, and more than one can occur at a given time, the upper limit being two,[6] except that /iru/ can occur twice, although not with the same meaning. There are restrictions, on which two markers can occur together, and in which order. For examples of sentences with post-verbal aspect markers and without, compare the following :

	Without aspect	*With Aspect*	*Aspect marker*
(27)	*a.* avar-e pā-tt-ē<u>n</u>	*b.* avar-e pāttu-ṭṭ-ē<u>n</u>/	/viṭu/
	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	'completive'

'I see-past he-acc.' (PNG) 'I definitely saw him.'
5 3 4 1 2 5 5 4 3 1/2

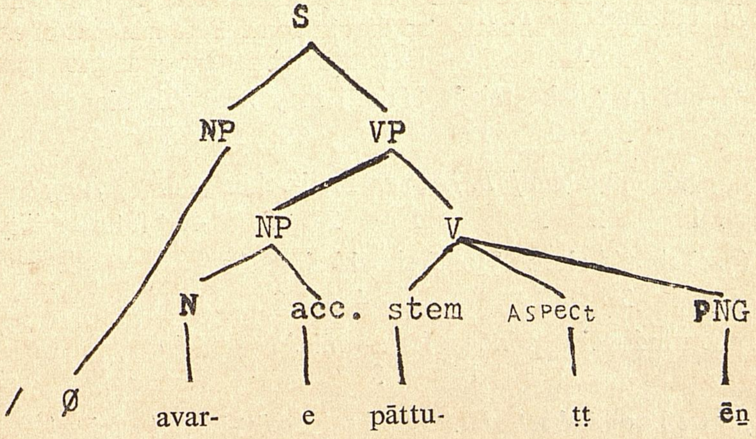

Fig. 2. Surface structure diagram of sentence (27b).

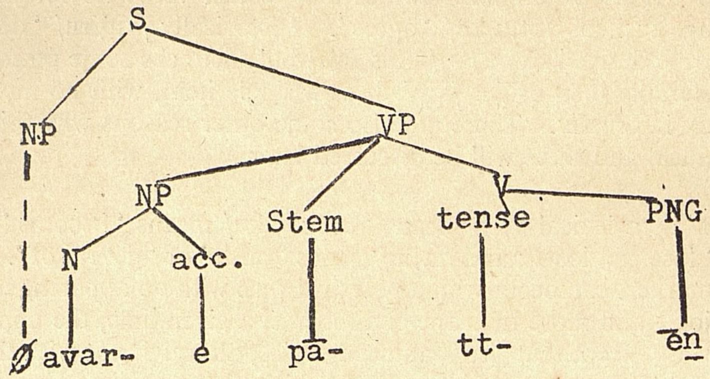

Fig. 3. Surface structure diagram of sentence (27a).

Without aspect   *With aspect*   *Aspect marker*

(28) *a.* /nāṉ maṟa-nt-ēṉ/ *b.* /nāṉ maṟantu-ṭṭ-ēṉ/   /viṭu/
1 2 3 4   1 2 3 4
'I forget-past (PNG)'   'I completely forgot (PNG)'
1 2 3 4   1 3 2 4

(29) *a.* /pār-uṅka/   *b.* /pāttu-ko-ṅka/   /ko-/
1 2   1 2 3   'self-benefactive'
'Look (polite)'   'Watch after (it) (pol.)'
1 2   1 2 3

(30) *a.* /ite eṭukka-lām/ *b.* /ite eṭuttu-ka-lām/   /ko-/
1 2 3   1 2 3 4
'(you) may take this.'   '(You) may take this along.'
3 2 1   4 2 1 3

(31) a. /jaṉṉale mūṭa-ṇum/ *b.* /jaṉṉale mūṭi-vekka-ṇum   /vay/
1 2 3   1 2 3 4   'future utility'
'(one) should close   '(one) should close the
3 2   4 2
the window.'   window for-a-while.'
1   1 3

(32) *a.* /avare koṉṉ-āṅka./ *b.* /avare koṉṉu-pōṭṭ-āṅka./   /pōṭu/
1 2 3   1 2 3 4   'malevolence'
'They killed him.'   'They killed him in-cold-blood.'
3 2 1   4 2 1 3

(33) *a.* /paṇam va-nt-atu/ *b.* /paṇam vant-irukku/ /iru/
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 ' perfect '
PNG) '
4
' The money came (past).' ' The money has come.'
1 2 3 1 3 2

Without aspect *With aspect* *Aspect marker*

(34) *a.* /maḻe pē-ñc-atu *b.* /maḻe pēñc-irukku/ /iru/
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 ' supposition '
' It (rain) rain-ed ' ' It apparently rained.'
1 2 3 1 3 2
(PNG) '
4

(35) *a.* /paṇam vant-atu/ *b.* /paṇam vant-āccu/ /āku/
1 2 3 1 2 3 ' finality '
' The money came. (PNG) ' ' The money finally came.'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(36) *a.* /pō/ *b.* /pōy-toḻe/ /toḻe/
1 2 ' disgust '
' Go ! ' ' Go and get-lost ! '
1 2

(37) *a.* ate kuṭutt-ēṉ/ *b.* /ate kuṭuttu-taḷ-ṉēṉ/ /taḷḷu/
1 2 3 1 2 3 4 ' riddance '
' I gave it.' ' I gave it away.'
3 2 1 4 2 1 3

(38) *a.* /nāṉ cappiṭṟ-ēṉ *b.* /nāṉ cappiṭṭu-kiṭṭiru-kkṟ-ēṉ
1 2 3 1 2 3 4 5
/kiṭṭiru/
' durative '
' I eat (PNG).' ' I am eat-ing (PNG).'
1 2 3 1 4 2 3 5

The inventory of post-verbal aspect markers varies from dialect to dialect in Tamil ; in some dialects, /pōṭu/ seems to mean the same as /viṭu/ ' completive ', without the nuance of malevolence or conspiracy. For other speakers, /pōṭu/ has this nuance only in connection with certain lexical verbs, and is then not used with other verbs, or has the same meaning of /viṭu/ ' completive ' when used with these items. I will treat /pōṭu/ as a separate aspect marker always having the meaning

'malevolent', that is, this will be a grammar of dialects where this is the case.[7]

Similarly, in some dialects, such as that examined by Ramanujan (Ramanujan 1963b), a number of different items occur which are not found in the dialect presently under consideration. These are /aḻu/ and /vaḻi/, which both connote impatience, similar to /tole/ in (36) above, which seems to occur, however, in all dialects. Also in the dialect examined by Ramanujan, /kuṭu/ 'give' and /tā/ 'give' are benefactive if used as post-verbs, e.g., /collu/ 'say' together with /kuṭu/ gives /collikkuṭu/ 'teach'. This item occurs in other dialects, but in those under examination here, does not occur productively. I therefore treat /collikkuṭu/ as a lexical item meaning 'teach'. The same is true for compounds like /koṇṭuppō/ 'take' and /koṇṭuvā/ 'bring', which consist of the defective verb /koḷ-/ plus /pō/ 'go' and /vā/ 'come'. It is simpler to treat these as lexical items than to write rules to generate them.

Auxiliaries and Aspect

It should be clear from the above that the aspectual systems of Tamil and English are not only quite different in their surface structures, but probably also have quite different deep structures. That is, aspect in English, at least in the case of formations with 'have', seems to be derivable from Tense, or at least related to embedded tense markers.[8] Unless we propose a radically different concept of deep structure for Tamil (or any other language), it is difficult to conceive how Tamil aspect might be related to embedded Tense or Aux, except in a few cases which will need to be examined more closely, cases which themselves are apparent exceptions to the Tamil system. But the rest of the system, with the many semantic nuances that English lacks, seems to be related only to deep structures which have yet to be proposed for any language or any verbal system.

Since we have seen already that Tense and Modal seem to have the same source in Tamil, it remains for us to examine in what way tense and aspect might be related in Tamil, since they seem to have some relation in English. Again the problem of terminologies and definition presents itself—various people seem to use terms like tense and aspect and modal without ever defining them. For this reason it would be well to survey the tense and aspect systems of a number of languages, as well as to see what theoreticians have said about these categories in general.

In *A Glossary of American Technical Linguistic Usage* (Hamp 1957) tense is defined as having to do with points in time anterior or posterior to the present. Aspect is not discussed in this source, nor does such a comprehensive treatment as Gleason's of the categories of the English

verb even approach a definition of aspect (Gleason 1961). A few writers have discussed aspect, among them Jespersen in his *Philosophy of Grammar* (1924 : 286-89). A good treatment of tense is also found in Jakobson's *Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb* (Jakobson 1957).

Jespersen begins his discussion of aspect by dismissing the classification of aspect by earlier writers as inadequate because of the confusion of four possible expressions : (1) the ordinary (*sic*) meaning of the very (by which he seems to mean 'lexical' meaning) ; (2) the occasional meaning of the verb in context ; (3) a derivative suffix ; and (4) a tense form.

Jespersen would replace these four classifications with a seven-fold distinction :

(1) the tempo distinction between the aorist and the imperfective, which affects the tense form in some languages.

By this Jespersen seems to mean the 'speed' or 'pace' of the action, whether it is accomplished slowly or quickly ; I presume Jespersen's distinction is based on the difference illustrated by the French passé simple, e.g., /nous allâmes/ *vs.* imparfait /nous allions/ 'we went'.

(2) the distinction between conclusive and non-conclusive verbs, such as the difference between 'the paid bill' *vs.* 'the honored man', where the action of paying is concluded but honoring is not.

(3) the distinction between durative/permanent and punctual/ transitory.

This is illustrated by Jespersen with the English 'expanded' *vs.* 'unexpanded' verbs, such as, I assume, the difference between 'I went' and 'I was going'.

The Slavic system, probably fits this best, and part of the Tamil system can be characterized as having this basic distinction, e.g., sentences (27b) and (38b). With the aspect markers /viṭu/ 'completive' and /kiṭṭiru/ 'durative'.

(4) the distinction between finished and unfinished : 'he was writing' and 'he wrote'.

It is not clear here how Jespersen distinguishes this section from section 3.

(5) the distinction between a single action and a habitual or repeated action.

Jespersen apparently feels that this may be what we would call today a redundant feature of some verbs in some languages, and used the example of English ' He doesn't drink ' to indicate a habitual action. This type is also exhibited in Tamil by modals and defective verbs as in examples (14) and (16-18), as well as the negative habituals of regular verbs, as in

(39) /nāṉ bīf cāppiṭrat-ille/ ' I·don't eat beef '
1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

as constrasted with

(40) /nāṉ bīf cāppiṭa-lle/ ' I didn't eat beef '.
1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

It should be noted parenthetically that the VP's of (39-40) are difficult to segment into morphemes which correspond to English, because the surface structures do not reveal the complexities of their underlying structures. The VP in (39) is ' negative habitual ' while that of (40) is ' negative past '. The morphs meaning ' negative ' are both clearly and easily isolatable ; but the ' habitual ' of (39) and the ' past ' of (40) are not recognizable in /cāppiṭrat-/ or /cāppiṭa-/, since the former is the present verbal noun, and the latter is the infinitive.

(6) the distinction between stability and change.

Jespersen illustrates this with contrasts such as English ' have ' *vs.* ' get ', ' be ' *vs.* ' become ' ; verbs derived from adjectives, such as ' ripen ' and ' slow (down) '. Causatives such as ' flatten ' and ' weaken ' are also illustrative of this distinction, according to Jespersen, as are examples such as ' fall asleep, awake ' *vs.* ' sleep, waken '. In some languages the beginning or ending of an action may be singled out for emphasis, such as in German/verblühen/ ' cease blooming.'

In addition to Jespersen's examples, one might add another type where the manner of change is characterized, as in English ' burst into tears, laughter, applause ', where the abruptness of the beginning is indicated.

(7) the distinction between the implication or non-implication of a result, such as the German /steigen/ ' climb ' *vs.* /ersteigen/ ' climb to the summit of '.

Tamil exhibits the notion of lasting result as contrasted with no implied result in such sentences as

(41) /Kamalā meṭrās-ukku pōy-irunt-ā/
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Kamala went to (and stayed a while in) Madras.' (PNG)
1 4 3 5 2 6

through the use of the aspect marker /iru/, which contrasts with no-result sentences, such as sentence (2).

While Jespersen's outline describes the major features typical of aspectual systems of various languages, he fails to explain what it is that the various types of aspect have in common that makes them clearly definable as aspect, and not something else. For Jespersen, aspect includes verbal tempo, conclusive *vs.* inconclusive action, durative *vs.* transitory, finished action *vs.* unfinished, single *vs.* habitual, stability *vs.* change, and resultative *vs.* non-resultative actions.

Another problem with this grab-bag concept of aspect as a grammatical category is that in many languages, notions which are clearly not aspectual (by any one's definition) are often associated with aspect markers[9] such that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to judge which semantic features are truly aspectual, and which are not.

For instance, in the German example in section (6) above, a prefix spelled /ver-/, in addition to denoting the ending of the action of the verb /blühen/, also has a nuance of 'pejorative'. That is, in addition to the purely descriptive statement that an action of some sort has come to an end, the pejorative notion indicates that the speaker also feels that the ending of the action is 'bad'. It adds a value judgement on the part of the speaker. There are many other verbs prefixed with /ver-/ in German where the meaning of the item is pejorative, but it is not clear whether this notion is supplied by /ver-/ or whether it is inherent in the lexical item, such as /verkommen/ 'decline', /vergeuden/ 'waste', and /verschwenzen/ 'fritter away'. In some other verbs /ver-/ is simply completive, as in /vergehen/ 'slip away', e.g., /Die Zeit vergeht/ 'Time slip away'; /verschwinden/ 'disappear', /sich verlieben/ 'fall in love', /verkaufen/ 'sell', /verreisen/ 'go away on a trip', etc.

In some other verbs, /ver-/ is simply a verbalizer or causativizer, as in /vereinsamen/ 'to isolate', from /einsam/ 'alone'; /verbilligen/ 'cheapen, reduce in price', from /billig/ 'cheap'; /verlängern/ 'prolong', from /lang/ 'long'.

It is clear that such a prefix as /ver-/ in German has different meanings, and that there are homonyms which should be labeled /ver-/, /ver-/, and /ver-/ depending on whether it is pejorative, completive, or causative. But in some cases, one of the features may accompany another, so that the meanings of pejorative and completive are inseparable in some items. It is in cases like these in German and in Tamil where

pejorative, clearly a non-aspectual notion, is associated with an aspectual notion as a redundant feature, or vice-versa. Since it is not completely predictable when certain redundant features will occur with some others, it is often impossible to even write a rule of the sort [completive] (∓ pejorative), at least for the German examples. For Tamil /pōṭu/ we can at least predict that (malev) 'malevolent' will always be (compl) 'completive', but since we also get /viṭu/ 'completive' without the nuance (malev), we cannot predict the features (malev) and (compl) in terms of each other in all cases, because (malev) may be realized lexically sometimes as /pōṭu/, and sometimes as an adeverb. Furthermore, in the German examples, it is difficult to say whether /ver/ in its pejorative sense is really not something else in disguise when it is a prefix of verbs which are inherently pejorative. In fact a verb like /verbilligen/ 'cheapen' may be in actuality a homonym with /verbilligen/ meaning 'reduce in price', where the first example is pejorative, and the second merely causative. Somehow, if we merely marked the two items in the lexicon as having different meanings, we would fail to capture the fact that the two prefixes /ver/ and /ver/ had different meanings, and that the complete semantic readings for the prefix plus stem in each case were the result of different underlying features ; the notion of pejorative is supplied by the stem in one case and by the prefix in the other.

If we can show that because of homonymy, certain semantic notions which seem to be associated with aspectual notions in one language or another, are in fact unrelated to aspect, it may be possible to prove that some of the notions that have been called aspectual in various languages in fact have nothing at all to do with aspect. We might then perhaps be able to isolate 'true' aspect from other notions, and if we find that what is semantically aspectual is also grammatically aspectual in all languages that we examine, we will have a case for positing a constituent in deep structure called 'aspect' and then write a grammar which predicts its occurrence. The evidence, however, seems to run in the opposite direction from this proposal. In what follows, it can be shown that there is in fact no universal underlying deep-structure constituent which one might label 'aspect' and that the lack of some such universal grammatical category throws doubt on the concept of deep structure as a universal.

What this means for Tamil is that there is a class of constituents which behave syntactically according to certain patterns, and that certain lexical items in this class seem to contribute aspectual meaning to sentences in which they occur. We must either prove that the basic meaning of each of the members of this class is that of aspect, and furthermore that all other semantic notions associated with this class of items are universally associated with aspect, both systematically in Tamil and in other languages, or we will be forced to abandon the idea that the members of this set of constituents have anything in common

at all with each other, which raises the question of why the language exhibits such patterning anyway. If this seems to leave us on the horns of a dilemma, namely, that we must either decide that aspect is either all-important in the deep structure of Tamil, or that aspect is not at all important in the deep structure of Tamil, both of which positions are intuitively false, the answer may be that there is something wrong with our concept of deep structure.

Let us consider the possibility that one might posit a category 'aspect' in the deep structure of English, and that we might predict all aspectual notions that are found in the surface structure of English from underlying aspect. We are immediately faced with the fact that certain sentences in English which seem to have the same meaning, and part of the meaning of which is included by various scholars in their definitions of aspect, cannot be shown to have the same deep structure, although we would expect them to have the same underlying structure if we accept the concept of deep structure as outlined by Chomsky (*Aspects* 1965).

For instance, Lakoff (Lakoff 1967b) has shown that there are sentences in English such as the following :

(42) The liquid is cool.

(43) The liquid cooled.

(44) The liquid became cool.

(45) The liquid came to be cool.

some of which seem to mean the same to many speakers of English. Yet some of them have verbs which are related to adjectives in other sentences, such that it is not possible to assign the same deep structure to all of the sentences (43-45). Lakoff uses these examples to build a different case, but for our purposes it is interesting to note that the notion (inchoative) which is present in this set of sentences is aspectual by Jespersen's definition, yet English does not seem to have a systematic and productive way of representing this notion grammatically. That is, we can have many sentences such as

(46) The liquid became red.

(47) The liquid redenned.

but many other sets are not possible, such as the following :

(48) The liquid became green.

(49) *The liquid greenened.

However, this does not mean that English does not have some other productive grammatical processes for indicating aspect, such as the pro-

gressive, or what Jesperson calls the expanded verb, and what others call the expanded form, such as the sets

(50) *a.* I walk.
b. I am walking.

(51) *a.* I procrastinate.
b. I am procrastinating.

where the contrast between the a. and b. sentences is recognizably aspectual, and can be predicted by a rule which will apply to every English verb. Similarly, in Polish, Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1967) shows that there are sets of sentences which differ only in that one of the pairs is marked for perfective aspect, and the other for imperfective, although some other aspectual notions are unmarked, such as the notions ‘ indefinite time ’ and ‘ habitual ’. It is not clear from her analysis whether these other, unmarked notions are predictable from imperfective/perfective specification, or whether they are only partially predictable. Either way, her analysis lends credence to our argument that aspect is more complex than just a matter of syntactic rules, and that all aspectual notions cannot be completely accounted for in the deep structure of a grammar, given the concept of deep structure advocated by Chomsky.

The other possibility, namely that aspect can be accounted for in Chomsky-type deep structure, but not as a single constituent, is also hard to justify. At first glance, it seems that aspect may be associated with other nodes, such as manner adverbials, or locatives. In Russian, for instance, some of the prefixes which mark aspect have something to do with spatial relations, as well as temporal relations. In Russian the prefix /pri-/ as in verb like /pris<est ’/, ‘ sit in, join in ’ or /ˀprigovorit ’/ ‘ add a comment ’ indicates the addition of some action into the mainstream of some other ongoing activity. In German, the prefix /ent-/ indicates withdrawal, deprivation, forfeiture, or change to a negative state, when added to various lexical roots, as in /ent-eignen/ ‘ disposses ’, /ent-werten/ ‘ devalue ’, /ent-kommen/ ‘ escape ’, and /ent-behren/ ‘ dispense with, do without ’, etc. Here the idea of change of state or withdrawal of some quality seems to be on the borderline between negation and some sort of aspect, since the change of state seems to be involved with some notion of completion, and in the Russian example, of duration. If there is anything that *all* these prefixes have in common, grammatically, then, it may be that they are all ultimately dominated by modes of adverbial modifiers like location, manner, time, etc. In other words, one could argue, aspect is connected with how, when, how long, how often, to what extent, etc., and action takes place.

The problem with this solution is that it by no means exhausts the range of semantic material which is associated with aspectual categories

in languages other than Indo-European languages. Even in the German example it is problematical what to do with the notion of ' negation ' in the change-of-state prefix /ent-/, and when we examine a system like that of Tamil in detail, or some of the systems found in some American Indian languages, one despairs of ever finding a universal definition of aspect as a grammatical category.

In Maidu, for instance, a language of northern California,[10] verb stems are combined with one or more thematic suffixes, which occur in six position classes. These are the (1) causative suffix, (2) (ˀus) class, suffixes having to do with the designation of a verbal object, (3) the motion-location auxiliaries, (4) (men), the negative suffix, (5) the (bós) class, aspectual suffixes ; and (6) the (ċój) class, suffixes which include various notions as to the nature of the evidence.

Let us keep in mind that since more than one of these ' thematic suffixes ' can occur with a verb, we can get combinations of meaning by choosing suffixes from different position classes, assuming Shipley's analysis to be correct. Conversely, two suffixes from the same position class cannot occur with the same stem, so that certain combinations are not possible, i.e., certain things are gramatically incompatible. For instance, in Maidu, in the (ˀus) class (meanings concerned with the nature of the verbal object), we have (ˀus) ' reflexive ', (jo), ' plural objects ', and ' repetitive actions ', and (to), ' transitivizer '. That is, an object cannot be both reflexive and repetitive in Maidu. In Tamil, of course, plural objects are not specified by the verb, so a sentence could have plural objects and be reflexive simultaneously.

Shipley's motion-location auxiliaries are too numerous to list, but correspond roughly to some kinds of things in Indo-European languages, such as prefixes in Latin (ex-), (ad-), (sub-), prefixes in German (zer-), ' apart ', Russian (p ' ir ' i-) ' over ', German (heraus-) ' out of and hither ', etc. In Maidu, these suffixes are in a different position class from e.g., the causative, and could conceivably occur with it. But the German equivalents could not occur with the causative, because they are, in German surface structure, in the same ' position class '. That is, German (zer-) ' apart ', and (be-) ' causative/transitive ' cannot be both used simultaneously with, e.g. (gliedern), although (zergliedern) ' take apart ' and (begliedern) ' cause to consist of ', both occur.[11] In German the two prefixes are grammatically incompatible, but we can make no statement about whether they are semantically incompatible, universally or otherwise, because obviously in Maidu they are compatible, and perhaps German might have another way of expressing the two semantic domains in the same sentence, e.g., by the use of adverbs or other lexical items.

Then there is the (bós) class, consisting of six suffixes with aspectual meanings. We have (bós) ' completive ', (ċýj) ' unable ', (dáj) ' inchoative ', (nǘ) ' durative ', (tī) ' for the ake of ', and (béw) ' a little

more'. Three of these are quite clearly aspectual, i.e., they have to do with duration of an action, change of states, etc., in short, notions which are recognized by analysts of Indo-European languages as being aspectual. But what of the items glossed 'unable', 'for the sake of', and 'a little more'? In an Indo-European language, 'unable' would probably be a modal, but the other two, 'for the sake of', and 'a little more' would probably not be categories of the verb at all.[12]

Finally we have the (c̉ój) class, 'various notions as to the nature of the evidence'. There is (c̉ój) 'quotative', which might better be called 'reportive', there is (wéw) 'evidential', and (ký) 'seems to me'. In Tamil we have at least an equivalent to the Maidu 'quotative', namely (-ām), which complicates matters for our syntactic analysis by being, at least in Tamil, semantically similar to some of the aspect markers, but grammatically different. Maidu (wéw) 'evidential', might be similar to another Tamil item, the dubitative (-ō), e.g., /yār-ō/ 'someone or
1 2 1
other'. If we admit /-ām/ and /-ō/ to membership in the class of aspect
2

markers, then we must also consider applications from /-ā/ 'interrogative', and /-ē/ 'emphasis'. This last item is hard to gloss, since it serves to express a wide range of notions, but one of its glosses, 'presupposed knowledge' fits semantically here, e.g.,

(52) /nāṉ hintu ille-yē/ 'I'm not a Hindu, didn't-you-know?'
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

One should also not ignore /-um/ 'conjunctive', e.g.,

(53) 'avar-um nāṉ-um/ 'He and I.'
1 2 3 4 1 2/4 3

It should be clear from the above that it is quite impractical a solution to allow anything to be called an aspect marker just because in some language of the world, a non-aspectual notion, or at best an ill-defined notion of some sort is associated with aspect markers, or with what has usually been defined as aspect markers. If we are only concerned with the production of grammatically correct sentences, we might be able to handle things by just avoiding the question of what they mean. But if we are interested in showing how many semantically similar sentences are related, we must be able to talk about their relationships in a formal way. The problem in most languages seems to be that what is semantically aspectual and what is grammatically aspectual is rarely the same. The semantic categories and the grammatical categories do not overlap.

Aspect Markers and Tamil Verbal Syntax

To add to the confusion about how aspect fits into the general verbal system of Tamil, there is the fact that aspect markers are very similar, in their structure and phonology, to ordinary lexical verbs. Tamil and many other Dravidian languages have a productive embedding procedure which is used to conjoin sentences, when the action of one is consecutive to the action of the other(s). That is, a sentence like

(54) I came, I saw, I conquered.

(if we understand it to mean ' after coming and looking around, I conquered ') would have the structure in Tamil something like ' Having come, having seen, I conquered'. Only the last verb is marked for PNG ; the others are in the form of so-called ' past ' adverbial participle. For example, the two sentences

(55) ' Get on the train.' /vaṇṭiyle ēṟuṅka/
1 2 2 1

and

(56) ' Be seated.' /okkāruṅka/
3 3

can be conjoined in the following way :

(57) /vaṇṭiyle ēṟi, okkāruṅka/
1 2 3

' Having-boarded the train, be seated.'
2 1 3

Sentences like (57) then have the following structure :[13]

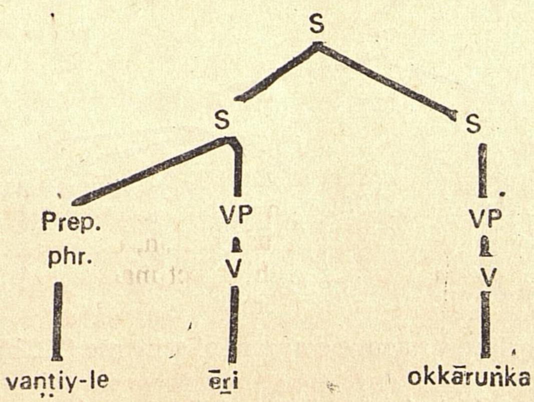

Fig. 4. Surface structure diagram of sentence (57).

Only the last verb has a ' finite ' form, with possible marking for PNG, tense, mode, and aspect. The other verbs are unmarked, and have a structure which has traditionally been called the adverbial participle,

which consists of the verb stem plus what resembles, morphophonemically, the past,[14] followed in some cases by an automatic vowel /u/, phonetically (ɨ̇) in slow speech.

The structure of the aspectually-marked verb is deceptively similar to that of the conjoined sentence structure in Fig. 4. The aspect marker comes last in the sentence, is marked for PNG, tense, and other optional categories, and the lexical verb to which it is affixed is in the form of the adverbial participle. For example, the sentences (32. a-b) have structures similar to sentences (55) and (57), respectively.

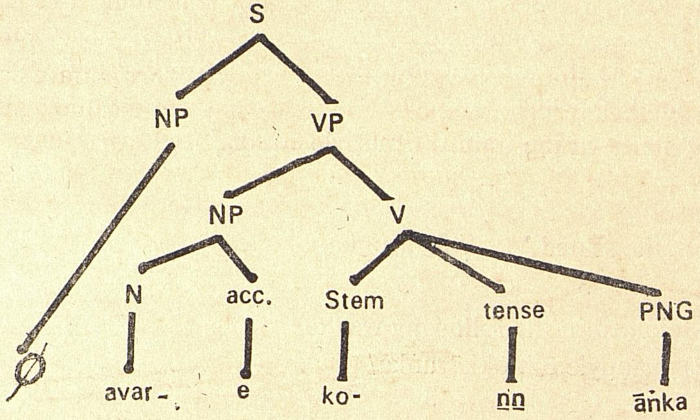

Fig. 5. Surface structure diagram of sentence (32. a).

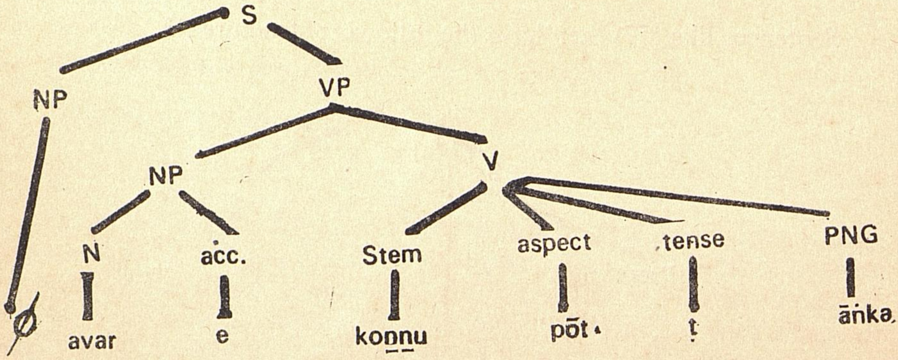

Fig. 6. Surface structure diagram of sentence (32. b).

In (32.b.), the lexical verb /kol-/ ' kill ' has the morphophonemic form of the past, similar to the form of ' kill ' in (32. a.), namely /koṉṉ-/, but in (32. b.), tense is affixed to the aspect marker /pōṭu/ ' malevolent ' such that the ' past ' form of the lexical verb is actually semantically empty—if the tense in (32. b.) were non-past, /kol-/ would still be marked morphophonemically past, i.e., /koṉṉ-/.

This raises the question of whether aspect markers are perhaps some sort of infix, inserted between the verb-stem and tense. This tells us nothing about its meaning, however, and does not explain or give us any insights about why more than one aspect marker is possible, and which combinations are possible and what they mean. That is, it is also possible to get sentences like

(58) /payyaṉ paṭicci-kiṭṭ-irunt-irupp-āṉ/
1 2 3 4 5 6

' The boy might have been read-ing (PNG).'
1 5 4 3 2 (3)

which have a structure as shown in Fig. 7, below. This surface structure diagram tells us very little about how it is that the meaning of (58) is derived from its various constituents, since, e.g., ' reflexive ' and ' future ' somehow get lost in translation. There is another possibility, namely, that

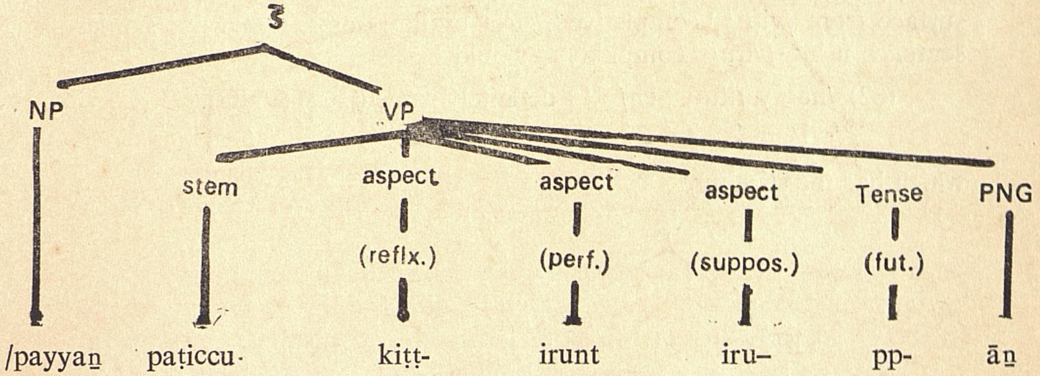

Fig. 7. Surface structure diagram of sentence (58).

sentences like (32. b.) and (58) are just like (57), i.e., they are the result of conjoining various sentences, deleting identical NP's or whatever, with an output that resembles the surface structure in Fig. 4. If, as Hofmann shows in English, such sentences as (58) are derived from epistemic modal constructions (Hofmann 1966) such that we can paraphrase (58) something like ' It might be true that he was reading ', we are still at a loss to explain anything but the epistemic part of the sentence. This is because the aspectual markers other than /iru/ do not occur in unconjoined sentences with the same meaning as they have in sentences like (58) and (27. b.-38. b.). Thus, if we want to derive sentences like these by conjoining sentences, we cannot explain how it is that their meanings change when sentence conjunction takes place. Furthermore, such a solution is contrary to widely accepted transformational theory, according to

which transformations do not change meaning.[15] It is true that there are homophonous verbs which resemble the aspect markers in form, especially in the literary language, although they are more different phonologically in the spoken language.

For instance,

(59) /nāṉ vant-ēṉ/ ' I came (PNG).'
1 2 3 1 2 3

and

(60) /nāṉ at-e viṭ-ṭ-ēṉ/ ' I left (past) it (acc.) (PNG).'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 4 5 2 3 6

can be conjoined to get

(61) /nāṉ vantu ate viṭṭēṉ/ ' Having come, I left it.'
1 2 3 4 2 1 4 3

but here the lexical verb /viṭu/ ' leave ', which is homophonous in its underlying form with /viṭu/ ' completive ' is phonetically different in the surface from /viṭu/ ' completive '. An example of a somewhat similar sentence using /viṭu/ ' completive ' would be

(62) /nāṉ vantu-ṭ-ṭ-ēṉ/ ' I definitely came (past) (PNG).'
1 2 3 4 5 1 3 2 4 5

which has the structure

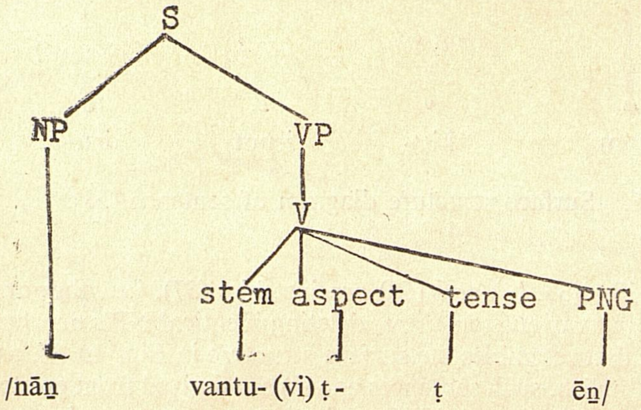

Fig. 8. Surface structure of sentence (62).

In the literary language, the deleted /vi-/ of /viṭu/ ' completive ' is phonetically present, i.e., /nāṉ vantu-viṭṭ-ēṉ/ ; that it is necessary in the underlying phonological representation of /viṭu/ ' completive ' in the colloquial language is evidenced in forms like

(63) /nāṉ cāppiṭṭ-ūṭṭ-ēṉ/ ' I definitely ate (PNG).'
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

where the /vi-/ is realized phonetically as /ū-/ in the environment between two retroflex consonants. In any event, sentences like (61) and (62) do not mean the same, so it is difficult to claim that /viṭu/ ' leave ' and /viṭu/ ' completive ' have the same source, and that sentences with aspect markers are the result of conjunction. As a result, there is rarely any ambiguity between sentences like (61) and (62), showing that their deep structures are radically different or at least not probably related.

Another problem with sentences like (58) is that the meaning of ' durative ' is not predictable from the sum of its parts—/ko/ ' reflexive ' and /iru/ ' perfect, supposition, stative ' only seem to mean ' durative . in combination, while no notion of ' durative ' is derivable from /ko-/ and /iru/ separately. For this reason it is probably simpler to state that ' durative ' is realized lexically as /kiṭṭiru/ and treat this as a separate aspect marker, unrelated semantically to /ko/ and /iru/[16]. In the dialect under study here, there is no possibility of /kiṭṭiru/ having /ko/ ' self-benefactive ' and /iru/ ' perfect ' as a source. There are some reasons why this is not a good idea, e.g., emphatic /-ē/ can be inserted between /kiṭṭ-/ and /iru/ as in /kavaṉiccu-kiṭṭ-ē-iruntāṅka/ ' They were staring.'
1 2 3 4 5 5 4 1 2/4
(' They stared and stared.')

But for the purposes of our analysis, it is easier to explain the semantics and syntax of /kiṭṭiru/ if we analyze it as being only one lexical item.

To continue with the other aspect-markers, there is another ' completive ' marker, /āku/, which differs from ' malevolent-completive ' /pōṭu/ and ' completive ' /viṭu/ in that it also has nuances of ' finality ' or ' accomplishment '. For example :

(64) /posṭ vant-āccu/ ' The mail has-finally come.'
1 2 3 1 3 2

(65) /kāppi pōṭ-āccu/ ' The coffee is ready at-last.'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(66) /tūkkam muṭicc-āccu/ ' (someone) has finished sleeping.'
1 2 3 (' sleep has-finally ended.')
1 3 2

/āku/ as an aspect marker resembles the lexical verb /āku/ ' become ', as in

(67) /maṇi eṉṉ-āccu/ ' what time is it ? '
1 2 3 (What hour has-become ? ')
2 1 3

(68) /ettaṉe nāḷ ākum/
1 2 3
(How-many day(s) will-become ?)
1 2 3
' How long will it take ? '

(69) /eṉakku kalyāṇam iṉṉum ākalle/
1 2 3 4
(' To-me marriage still not-become.')
1 2 3 4
' I'm still not married.'

/āku/ is also used often in a way which translates into English as a passive; in addition to (65), which could also be glossed ' The coffee has *been* served ', we have the sentence

(70) /anta kaṇakku ellām-pātt-āccu-ṅka/
1 2 3 4 5 6
' Those bills have all been checked, sir.'
1 2 (5) 3 5 4 6
(' That bill all seen-become honorific.')
1 2 3 4 5 6

One could contrast the use of /āku/ here with /viṭu/, with which /āku/ has the feature ' completive ' in common, but which does not have the passive,[7] nuance like /āku/. In (70), if /viṭu/ had occurred, one would have something like /pāttu -ṭṭ-ēṉ/ ' I checked over ' where we have
1 2 3 3 1 2
/viṭu/ marked for PNG, since the idea is that someone checked the bills, rather than that the checking of the bills occurred. This is because /āku/ when used as a ' passivizer ' agrees or is marked for neuter gender, as if its subject were inanimate ; the subject of (70) seems definitely therefore to be /kaṇakku/ ' bill '. If replaced by /viṭu/ the grammatical subject is no longer ' bill ' but some animate noun. Even if the sentence were /avaṅka pātt-āccu/ 'They were seen', with an animate noun instead of ' bill ', /āku/ would still not be marked to agree with it. Neither can we say, however, that 'avaṅka/ ' they ' would be the object of ' seen ', because animate objects are always marked for accusative. These sentences are therefore very exceptional, because either one of two obligatory rules, the PNG agreement rule, or the obligatory accusative rule, is violated. In a way /āku/ therefore resembles modals and defective verbs, since they also do not agree in PNG with their subjects, and in fact often have dative-case subjects, similar to sentence (69).

Another usage of /āku/ which is somewhat exceptional, structurally, is seen in sentences like the following :

(71) /nīṅka vant-āka-ṇum/ ‘ You absolutely have to come.’
1 2 3 4 1 3 4 2

and

(72) /oru ūci pōṭṭ-āka-ṇum/
1 2 3 4 5

‘ (I) absolutely have to have an injection.’
4 5 3 1 2

These sentences have the following structure :

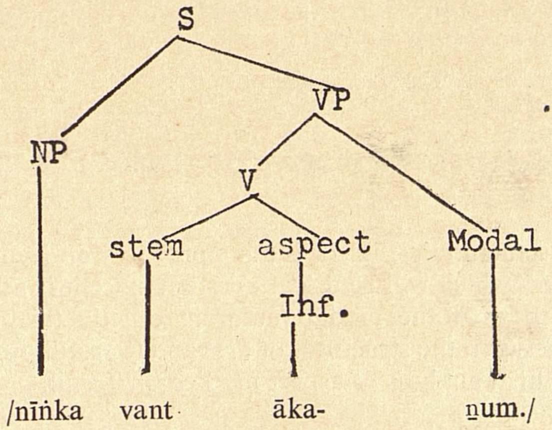

Fig. 9. Surface structure diagram of sentence (71).

Sentence (72) is possibly an example of the ‘ non-agentive ’ use of /āku/, since the subject ‘ I ’ /eṉakku/ has been deleted—‘ To-me a shot must absolutely be put.’

The reason that sentences like (71) and (72) are exceptional is that the meaning ‘ definite(ly) ’ or ‘ absolute(ly) ’ supplied by /āku/ is only possible in the presence of the modal /-ṇum/ ‘ must ’. This contrasts with sentences like

(73) /nīṅka vant-iṭa-ṇum/ ‘ You must definitely come.’
1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

where the aspect marker /(v)iṭu/ is used. The difference in meaning between (71) and (73) is that in (71), where /āku/ is used, the meaning is somehow ‘ more definite ’ than (73). Why this should be the case is not clear, since /āku/ does not seem to have the feature (definite) is isolation. However, there may be a clue to this problem in the ‘ expected result ’

meaning of /āku/, so that we might gloss (71) ' your coming must be the expected result ' and we might posit a deep structure for it as follows :

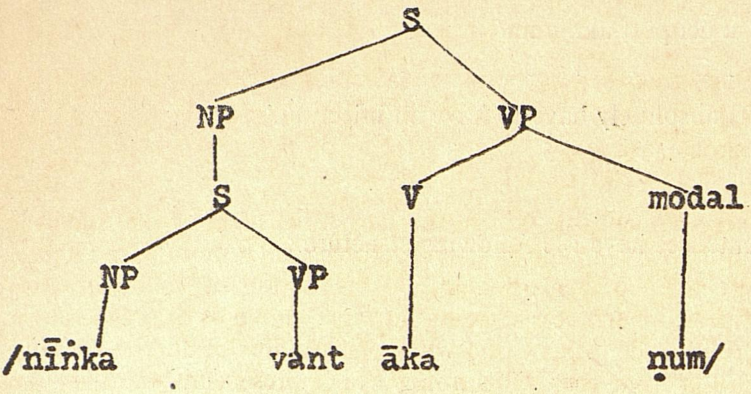

Fig. 10.--Deep structure diagram of sentence (71).

Actually, the sctucture in Fig. 10 is quite probably derived from another, deeper structure which will be discussed later, since it is not clear that we would want to treat the modal /ṇum/ in exactly this way. But the relationship between the structures of (71) and (73) will probably be quite crucial to the final analysis of aspect markers in Tamil.

Aside from /pōṭu/ ' malevolent-completive ', /viṭu/ ' completive ', /kiṭṭiru/ ' durative ', /āku/ ' finality ; non-agentive ',[18] there are some other ' aspect markers ' which behave syntactically like the former, but may or may not be primarily aspectual. That is, they are semantically rather complex, and their choice is determined by what notion the speaker wants to emphasize, although some notion of aspect may be nevertheless residually present. These last are /vay/ ' future relevance ', /ko/ ' self-benefactive ', /tole/ ' impatience ', and /taḷḷu/ ' riddance '.

Of all the ' aspect markers ', the one that seems to have the least to do with aspect in its primary use is /ko/ ' self-benefactive '. That is, in a sentence like (30. b.)

(30.b.) /itu eṭuttu-ka-lām/ ' (you) may take this with-you.'
1 2 3 4 4 2 1 3

it is really not clear how /ko/ is related to aspectual notions. If we stay close to Jespersen's general scheme, and define aspect as having to do with the time of an action, the duration and/or completion of an action, the repetitive or habitual manner of an action, etc., it is hard to see how /ko/ fits in. That is probably because there are other instances of /ko/

which are less frequently used, and which differ significantly in meaning from sentences like (30.b.). For example :

(74) /serupp-e pōṭṭu-kiṭṭu, kōyil-ukk-uḷḷe pōka-kūṭātu/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

' One-should- not go into the inside of a temple while wearing
9 8 6 7 5 4 3

shoes.' (acc.)
1 2

In this sentence, element (4), /kiṭṭu/, the participial form of /ko/, gives a notion of 'simultaneity' in addition to its more usual notion, as in (30.b.), of ' self-benefactive ' or self-oriented '. This notion of ' simultaneity ' of wearing shoes concurrently to going into the temple, is of course more clearly aspectual, since it has to do with relationships of actions to each other, duration of time, etc. This notion is not present in sentences like (30.b.) which makes it difficult to define /ko/ exactly, since its meaning varies. In this way it is like /iru/, which can mean ' perfect ', ' suppositional ', or ' stative '. Unlike /iru/,[19] however, there cannot be more than one instance of /ko/ in a given predicate.

Of the remaining, /vay/ is interesting because of its notion of ' future utility ' or ' future relevance ' with the idea that some action will have a delayed result or delayed benefit. In sentence (31.b.)

/Jaṉṉale mūṭi-vekka-ṇum/
1 2 3 4

' (One) should close the window for-a-while.'
4 2 1 3

the idea is that the closing of the window will have future consequences which are not immediately apparent. In another sentence,

(75) 'aisvāṭṭare kuṭicci-ve-pp-ōm/
1 2 3 4 5

' We shall drink ice-water for-future-use.'
5 4 2 1 3

/vay/, element 3, together with /kuṭi/ ' drink ' might also be translated as ' tank up on ' or ' stock up on ' rather than ' drink for future use '. In other words, if we had two sentences in English

(76) I'm drinking ice water.

(77) I'm tanking up on ince water.

the difference in meaning in these is exactly equivalent to Tamil /vay/. If one wanted to characterize this difference in a formal way, one would be hard put to find deep structures for (76) and (77) which would be at all similar, i.e., would differ only in that (77) has some element which means ' future utility '. This is another example of the difficulty of handling aspectual notions according to a Chomsky-type grammar.

For the two remaining aspect markers, there are no overwhelming problems, except that the semantic area involved in /tole/ is extremely expressive and often has more to do with the feelings and opinions the speaker has about the personality and status of his interlocutor, rather than the time-span of the action of the verb. For instance, in

(78) /ate ūtti tolecci cāppiṭṭ-iṭṭu pōṅkal-ēṉ/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

' Why (don't you) pour it (out), eat it up, and
7 2 1 4 1 5

get-going, for-God's-sake ! '
6 3

/tole/ ' disgust, impatience ' translates best as some epithet in Engish, such as ' Damn it ! ' for (3) in (78) above. The problem of how to represent this in deep structure arises when on the one hand we want to indicate that /tole/ is both ' completive aspect ' and ' A is disgusted with B ' when A is the speaker and B the addressee. This notion of ' disgust ' seems to be explainable only in terms of the various participants in the speech event, while ' completive ' is independent of the speech event. To my knowledge this kind of notion, involving epithets and aspect, has not been handled in deep structure by any writer.[20]

The last of the aspect markers to be handled here, /taḷḷu/, represents the notions ' riddance ', ' irrevocability ', and ' finality of result ', in addition to being ' completive '. Thus, in

(37.b) 'ate kuṭuttu-taḷ-ṉ-ēṉ/ ' I gave it away (past) (PNG).'
1 2 3 4 5 5 2 1 3 4 5

the idea which /taḷḷu/ adds is that one gave something away for once and for all, and that the result is final and irrevocable.

This concludes the discussion of the surface structure of Tamil aspect markers which was intended to outline the various semantic and syntactic problems encountered when attempting to handle aspect in deep structure. Before proposing some solutions for this problem, there are a number of other ancillary problems which are involved, and ought to be discussed before proceeding to the final analysis. The question of tense and its relation to aspect is one of them, and the problem of the deep structure of the copula is another. As in English, there are some obvious examples of tense affecting the semantics of aspect (cf., for example sentence (58), where the presence of the ' future ' marker makes a big difference ; replaced by, e.g., present tense, the meaning would be ' perfect ' instead of ' suppositional ') in Tamil, and the fact that the copula /iru/ and the aspect marker(s) /iru/ ' suppositional ; perfect ; stative ' have the same phonetic shape definitely presents a problem.

Tense

Of the various sources which might be examined for some insights about the semantics of tense, the pre-transformational literature is rather devoid of any significant statements on the subject, except for Jakobson's important article on Russian (Jakobson 1957). There he discusses various categories of the verb in Russian and concludes that any ' generic verbal category '[21] can be defined with regard to the basic dichotomies of speech *vs*. its topic, the narrated matter ; and the event itself, and any of its participants. These four distinctions can be combined to get the following underlying system : the narrated event (E^n), the speech event (E^s), the participant of the narrated event (P^n), and a participant of the speech event (P^s). The four elements in parentheses can then be used to define any verbal category.[22]

Following Jespersen's use of the term ' shifters ' for items whose referential meaning ' shifts ' from speech event to speech event, Jakobson terms categories which characterize the narrated event with reference to the speech event or its participants *shifters*, and categories which characterize the narrated event without reference to the speech event or its participants *non-shifters*.

In Jakobson's system, then, *tense* characterizes the narrated event with reference to the speech event and is therefore a shifter. That is, use of the preterit indicates that the narrated event was anterior to the speech event. Use of the present indicates simultaneity with the speech event, and the future, posteriority to the speech event. It is interesting to note here that for Jakobson, tense (E^nE^s) is a shifter, but aspect is not. In fact, Jakobson cannot distinguish between *status* and *aspect* with his four features ; status and aspect, both (E^n), ' characterize the narrated event itself without involving its participants and without reference to the speech event ' (Jakobson, 1957, p. 4). Furthermore, *taxis* or ' relative tense ' (E^nE^n), which has to do with the relationship between two narrated events, but with no reference to the speech event, is for Jakobson unrelated to tense or aspect, whereas current writers treat this category as derived by some sort of embedding procedure (Hofmann 1966 ; McCawley, as quoted by Darden 1968 ; and Darden 1968). It is not clear to me what the best solution to the current controversy is, but my impression is that a great deal depends on one's conception of deep structure. Since Jakobson seems to consider various surface categories as given, rather than derived from deeper structures, his definitions are noteworthy only in that they provide components or features which are a convenient point of departure for a discussion of the complexities involved in a given system.

Since tense and aspect are for Jakobson unrelated, his discussion of aspect suffers somewhat, when, in the examples he gives, the categories

of aspect and tense overlap, or are mutually exclusive. For example, in his discussion of the contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect in Russian, he makes the following statement :

> The preterit signals that of two events, E^n precedes E^s, while the present implies no sequence ; consequently a perfective verb in the preterit cannot be used for a reiterated completion, since only the last completion in the temporal sequence is expressed by the perfective aspect: *Inogda on pogovarival* (impf.) *o reformax* (the pf. *pogovoril* could not be used) ; *To vystrel razdayalsja* (impf.), *to slyšalis' kriki* (perfective preterits *razdalsja, poslyšalis'* could not be substituted for these imperfective forms). Only if the repetitive event is summed up and its final completion is stated, the perfective preterit may be used : *Za vse èti dni on ponagovoril o reformax.* In the present, where no temporal sequence is grammatically involved, each completion is absolute, and the perfective is used : *Inogda on pogovorit o reformax* ; *To vystrel razdastsja, to kriki poslysatsja.* The perfective preterit signals the temporal antecedence of E^n (in relation to E^s) and its completion. The perfective present does not indicate whether E^n precedes E^s or not, and when used in its narrowed, nuclear meaning, it intimates that E^n does not precede E^s, and thus its envisaged completion is posterior to E^s : futurity is the most usual meaning of the perfective present, e.g. *Oni zakričat* ' they are expected to raise a cry.'

It is quite clear from this that there are some problems in Russian involving tense and such notions as ' reiterated completion ', ' absolute completion ', and ' envisaged completion '. Merely by changing the tense of a perfective verb from ' preterit ' to ' present ', we get ' future '. What the system underlying this is, is not clear ; since Jakobson is not interested in generating the surface structure of Russian, but only in analyzing it in terms of the realization or non-realization of categories or oppositions we have no right to expect him to give an answer in terms of deep and surface grammar.

It is, however, obvious that there is a relationship between tense and aspect in Russian which he has not characterized formally. Every student of Russian knows that a perfective verb marked for present tense is semantically future. Why this should be the case remains unexplained.

It is interesting to note that no mention of a possible relationship between tense and aspect in Polish is made by Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1967), although one would expect that Polish would not differ that significantly from Russian. Her main point is that one should not study verbal aspect

> .... without taking into consideration the interdependences between the aspect of the verb and the semantic structure of other elements in the sentence; particular attention should be given in this connexion to the structure of the direct object, and the complements of time. The problem of the semantics of aspect must be studied together with the problems of the semantics of the article, of the numeral, of the nomina agentis and possibly of other linguistic phenomena as well.[23]

But apparently any relationship between tense and aspect which might exist is not as obvious and important as some of the other relationships she mentions. Does this mean that we can conclude that even if a relationship between tense and aspect exists in some languages, it is obviously not universal and can therefore be disregarded? Such a conclusion would be premature; the evidence seems to indicate that although we can probably say that universally, tense and aspect are probably not derivable from the same source in deep structure, this does not preclude the possibility that *some* instances of aspectual notions are sometimes derivable from embedded tense, or whatever, in some languages. In other words, aspect is sufficiently complex in languages like English, Russian, and Tamil, to preclude its having only one deep-structure source in any of them.

Furthermore, in the theory of grammar developed by Lakoff, Bach, Ross, McCawley, and others since 1965, which I will explicate further in the chapters that follow, it is probably irrelevant in some instances whether we differentiate between one kind of constituent or another in the deepest structures, since ultimately N, V, and Adj may be reduced to one underlying representation, which corresponds to predicate in symbolic logic; and which Bach calls a 'contentive' (Bach 1967 : 23).

FOOTNOTES

* The Transcription is as per *Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras) and what might be called a convenient morphophonemic representation., i.e. it represents a stage somewhere between the input to a generative phonological component and a pure phonetic output.

1 He gives an example of a sentence/camācāram eḷutippōttaṉ/' he wrote *off* the news' (1911 : 177-87).

2 Arden (1942: 267).

3 *Ibid.*

4 We take the view, here and throughout, that except for late rules specifying emphasis or focus, transformational rules do not introduce any change in meaning, and that differences in meaning must therefore be accounted for by positing different semantic sources.

5 As we will see later, Aux is better treated as a feature of some verbal constituents, rather than as a constituent in a 'deep structure' base.

6 This is the case in the dialects of my two major informants; in other dialects more than two may occur, although this depends partly on one's analysis, particularly of the aspect marker /kiṭṭiru/.

7 In dialects where /pōṭu/ is equivalent to /viṭu/ with certain lexical items only, the lexical entries for these items would have the notation that 'completive' /pōṭu/ when lexical insertion takes place.

[8] Hofmann (1966 : 11).

[9] That is, these aspect markers, in addition to their 'aspectual' meanings, seem to provide 'connotations' or 'redundant' meanings which have no connection with aspect as, e.g., Jespersen has defined it.

[10] These dates are from William F. Shipley, *Maidu Grammar*, University of California Press, 1964, pp. 40ff.

[11] The fact that German (zergliedern) and (begliedern) seem to be opposites is irrelevant or accidental, because other pairs such as (zerlaufen) 'trickle away' and (belaufen) 'walk (something)' are not.

[12] These are, of course, surface structures which are being compared, but as I shall show later, the deep structures of these supposedly aspectual phenomena are not relatable.

[13] The structure in Fig. 4 is the result of conjoining the two sentences (55) and (56).

[14] This 'past' marker is semantically empty, since it is the same no matter what the tense of the next verb is, and could be as easily introduced by a transformation.

[15] Some linguists are willing to allow transformations to change the 'focus' or emphasis of a sentence, but it is improbable that many would accept transformations that introduced semantic differences as radical as those seen here, especially since the kind of change is not the same with each aspect marker.

[16] Bright and Lindenfeld (1968) in their article on complex verb forms in Tamil have a rule which expands Prog to include /iru/ after a morphophonemic d+kk+d. They identify this /iru/ as being the same as the verb /iru/, but presumably do not intend to imply that the meaning is the same, but only that the same phonological rules apply to them. The dialect considered by Bright and Lindenfeld is the Brahmin, which has different phonetic realizations for many of the aspectual markers, including this one, but the problems of assignment of morpheme status are much the same in the treatment of the non-Brahmin dialect as well.

[17] Passive is a misleading term here, since it implies a corresponding active construction, whereas no such contrast exists as is particularly obvious with sentence (64), where no possible active/passive dichotomy for the verb /vā/ 'come' could be construed. For all practical purposes, Tamil can be said to have no passive. Since sentences (65) and (70) seem, however, to be exceptional in that the verb does not agree in PNG with the semantic subject, a better term for this use of /āku/ might be 'non-agentive' (suggested by A. K. Ramanujan, personal communication) or 'ergative'.

[18] These glosses are not exhaustive, since many of these items have three or four possible meanings, depending on the circumstances.

[19] When /iru/ occurs more than once, of course, its various instances mean different things.

[20] Some kinds of epithets, mainly imperatives, have been handled by Dong (Dong 1966) but the problem there is to explain why those sentences have no overt subjects. The problem of handling the circumstances of the speech event has been dealt with in Sadock (1968) by positing so-called hypersentences in which the subject is the speaker and the object the hearer.

[21] Jakobson (1957 : 3-5).

[22] That is, they are necessary to define verbal categories, although some other features are also necessary to completely distinguish various sub categories within a given category.

[23] Wierzbicka (1967 : 2249).

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வள்ளுவர் கண்ட மனிதன்

க. த. திருநாவுக்கரசு

பண்டைத் தமிழ்ப் புலவர்களுள் உலகப் பெருஞ்சான்றோராகப் போற்றப் படுபவர் வள்ளுவர். 'அனைத்துலக மனிதனைப் பாடிய பாவலர்' (The Bard of the Universal Man) என்று அவரை டாக்டர் ஜி. யூ. போப்[1] பாராட்டினர். அதை உண்மையென இன்றைய உலகம் உணரத் தொடங்கியுள்ளது. மக்க ளினம் பல்வேறு இனங்களாகவும், சாதிகளாகவும், குழுக்களாகவும் சிதறுண்டு கிடக்கிறது. வாழும் இடத்தாலும், பேசும் மொழியாலும், பின்பற்றும் சமயத்தாலும் தம்மிடையே பல்குழுவையும் பாழ்செய்யும் உட்பகையையும் மனிதர் வளர்த்து வருகின்றனர். இதனுல், போரும் பூசலும் உண்டாகின்றன. இவை அனைத்தையும் கடந்த நிலையில், மனித சமுதாயம் முழுமைக்கும் எவ்விடத்தும், எக்காலத்தும் பயன்படத்தக்க வகையில், தம் வான்மறையை வள்ளுவர் இயற்றியுள்ளமை அவருக்குரிய தனிப்பெருஞ் சிறப்பாகும்.

திருவள்ளுவர் தமிழ் நாட்டில் பிறந்தவர்; தமிழ் நாட்டில் வாழ்ந்தவர்; தமிழ் மொழியைப் பேசியவர்; தமிழிலே தம்முடைய அரும்பெரும் நூலினை உலகிற்கு வழங்கியவர். ஆனல், அவர் படைத்த நூலில் தமிழ், தமிழர், தமிழ் நாடு என்னும் சொற்களோ, அவற்றைப்பற்றிய குறிப்புகளோ இடம் பெறவில்லை. காலத்தால் கறைபடாத கருத்துகளையும், இடத்தால் ஏற்றங் குறையாத எண்ணங்களையும் மனிதன் மண்ணில் நல்லவண்ணம் வாழ்வதற்கு வழிகாட்டும் வகையில், திருக்குறளில் அவர் எடுத்துரைத்துள்ளார்.

இதனை, அலக்சாண்டர் பியாதிகோர்ஸ்கி (Alexander Pyatigorsky) என்னும் சோவியத்துநாட்டு அறிஞர்,

> அது (திருக்குறள்) ஒருமைப்பாடும் செம்மைத்திறமும் வாய்ந்த கலைப் பெட்டகம். அதனுடைய ஆசிரியர் அரசனையோ, குடிமகனையோ, மதகுருவையோ விளித்து அதை இயற்றவில்லை. மனிதனுக்காக—மனிதனுடைய நலமிக்க வாழ்க்கைக்காக—மனிதனை விளித்துத் தம் மாண்புமிக்க நூலினை அவர் யாத்துள்ளார். மனிதனைப் பாடுகின்ற பொழுது சட்டத்தை வகுத்தளிக்கும் சட்டவல்லுநராகவோ, வழி காட்டும் தீர்க்கதரிசியாகவோ அவர் தம்மைக் கருதவில்லை. ஆனல், மனிதனின் நலனை நாடுவோராகவும், நண்பராகவும், ஆசிரியராகவும் அவர் அன்போடும் பண்போடும் தம் கருத்துகளைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றார்[2]

என்று தெளிவுறுத்தியுள்ளமை இங்குக் குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதாகும்.

திருவள்ளுவர் வாழ்ந்தகாலம், தமிழகத்தின் வரலாற்றில் சிறப்புமிக்க தாகும். அக்காலத்தில் தமிழருடைய நாகரிகமும் பண்பாடும் முழுவளர்ச்சி யுற்றிருந்தன. பல்வேறு நாட்டைச்சேர்ந்த மக்களோடு அக்காலத்திய தமிழர் வாணிகத்தொடர்புகொண்டிருந்தனர். அதன் பயனக நாகரிக வாழ்க்கையில் பல புதுமைப் பண்புகள் நுழையத்தொடங்கின. அந்நிலையில் வள்ளுவர் திருக் குறளை இயற்றியிருக்க வேண்டும்.

> தமிழ் மக்கள், தமிழ் நாட்டில் வந்துதங்கும் அயல் நாட்டாரோடு அன்புடன் கலந்து பழகும் இயல்பினர் என்பது யாவரும் அறிந்த தொன்று. கடைச்சங்க காலத்தில் யவனர், வடவாரியர், கடார நாட்டினர், அருமணதேயத்தார், சோனகர் முதலானோர் தமிழகத் திற்கு அடிக்கடி வந்து தங்கியிருந்த செய்தி சங்கச் சான்றோர் பாடல்

> களாலும், உரையாசிரியர்களின் குறிப்புக்களாலும் நன்கறியக் கிடக்கின்றது. அந்நாட்களில் அவ்வயலாரோடு நெருங்கிப் பழகிவந்த தமிழ் மக்களுள் சிலர் தம் நாகரிக நிலையினின்று மாறி ஒழுக்கங்களிலும் தவறுவார் ஆயினர். எனவே, அவ்வயலாருடைய தீய இயல்புகளையும், தீயொழுக்கங்களையும் அன்னோர் மேற்கொள்ளத் தொடங்கியமை தெள்ளிது. அத்தகையோரைத் திருத்தி நல்வழிப்படுத்துவதும், தமிழருடைய தொன்று தொட்டுவந்த அறவொழுக்கமும் நாகரிகமும் சிதைந்தொழியாதவாறு காப்பாற்றுவதும், அக்காலத்தில் தூய வாழ்க்கை நடத்திவந்த தொல்லாணை நல்லாசிரியன்மாரின் மாபெருங் கடமையாகிவிட்டமை அறியற்பாலதாம். கடைச்சங்க காலத்தில் நிலவிய பேரறிஞராகிய ஆசிரியர் திருவள்ளுவனுர், அக்கடமையை நிறைவேற்றும் பொருட்டுத் திருக்குறள் என்ற சிறந்த நீதிநூலொன்று இயற்றி, அதன் மூலமாகத் தமிழ் மக்கட்குப் பல அரிய உண்மைகளை அறிவுறுத்தி, அன்னோர் தம் அறவொழுக்கங்களிலும் நாகரிக நிலையிலும் தவருதவாறு அரண் செய்வாராயினர்[3]

என்னும் கருத்துரை, திருக்குறள் இயற்றப்பெற்றமைக்குரிய காரணத்தை ஓரளவிற்குக் கோடி காட்டுகிறது.

வள்ளுவரின் முதன்மையான நோக்கம் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்தின் நலிவினைப் போக்குவதற்கு வாழ்வியல் நெறிமுறைகளை வகுத்துரைப்பதாக இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும். ஆனுல், அதே சமயத்தில் மனித இனம் முழுமைக்கும் பேரளவிற்குப் பயன்படத்தக்க வகையில் திருக்குறளை இயற்றியுள்ளமை, அவருடைய வீறுமிக்க சிந்தனைத் திறனின் சீர்த்தியை அறிவிக்கிறது. மனிதன் மனிதனுக வாழ்வதற்கு உதவும் ஒப்புயர்வற்ற கருத்துகளைத் தற்சார்பற்ற முறையில் அவர் எடுத்துரைத்துள்ளார். 'ஒருவனை ஞானியாக்குவது அப்புறமிருக்கட்டும். முதலில் அவனை மனிதனுக்க முயலுவோம்'[4] என்று ரூஸ்ஸோ ஒருமுறை குறிப்பிட்டார். இக்கருத்தை ஈராயிரம் ஆண்டுகட்கு முன்னர் வாழ்ந்த வள்ளுவர் நன்குணர்ந்திருந்ததை, அவருடைய நூல் அறிவிக்கிறது. மனித சமுதாயத்தின் கடைநிலையில் உள்ளவனும் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்வதற்கு அவர் வழிகாட்டியுள்ளார். தம் நூலினை முப்பாலாகப் பாகுபடுத்தியுள்ள முறையும், ஒவ்வொரு பாலையும் பல அதிகாரங்களாக முறைப்படுத்தியுள்ள வகையும், ஒவ்வோர் அதிகாரத்திலும் தாம் கூறவந்த கருத்துகளை அறிவு, ஆற்றல், உடல்நலம், மனநலம் முதலியவற்ருல் வேறுபட்ட பல நிலைகளிலுள்ள மக்களைக் கருத்தில்கொண்டு பலநிலையினருக்கும் பயன்படும் வகையில் பலநிலை அறத்தினை அவர் அறிவுறுத்தியுள்ள திறனும் அவருடைய அடிப்படை நோக்கத்தினைக் காட்டும்.

மனிதன் தோன்றிய நாள்முதல் அல்லற்பட்டு, ஆற்ருது, அழுது கண்ணீர் வடித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிருன். அவன் கண்ணீரைத் துடைத்து, கடமையை உணர்த்தி, உள்ளவூக்கத்தோடு வாழ்க்கையைச் செம்மையாக நடத்துவதற்குரிய வழிவகைகளை வகுத்துரைக்க வள்ளுவர் முயன்றுள்ளார். மனிதனுடைய நிறைகுறைகளையும், மனவியல்புகளையும் நுட்பமாக ஆராய்ந்துணர்ந்த பெருமை வள்ளுவருக்குரியதாகும். அதனுல், வாழ்வியல் அடிப்படையில், 'வருங்கால மனித சமுதாயம் எவ்வாறிருக்கவேண்டும்?' என்பதைத் தம் முதிர்ந்த அறிவினுலும் கனிந்த அனுபவத்தாலும் திருக்குறளில் அவர் படம் பிடித்துக் காட்டியுள்ளார்.

மனிதன்—சொல்லும் பொருளும்

இன்று 'மனிதன்' என்னும் சொல்லை நாம் பெருவழக்காகப் பயன்படுத்தி வருகிறோம். ஆனுல், பழைய தமிழில் 'மக்கள், மாந்தர்' என்னும் சொற்களே மனிதரைச் சுட்டின. மனிதன் என்னும் சொல்லிற்கு 'மனத்தினை' உடையவன் என்று பொருள்கொள்ளலாம். எதையும் எளிதில் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளாமல், அதைப்பற்றிச் சிந்தித்துப்பார்க்கும் திறனுடையவன் மனிதன்; நன்மை தீமைகளை நாடி ஆராய்ந்து—பகுத்தறிந்து, செயல்படும் ஆற்றலுடையவன் மனிதன்.

இத்திறனையே 'மக்கள்சுட்டு' என்று தொல்காப்பியனர்[5] தெளிவுறுத்தியுள்ளார். 'மனிதன்' என்று சுட்டுவதற்கு மனவுணர்வாகிய 'பகுத்தறிவு' அவனிடம் அமைந்திருப்பதே அடிப்படையான காரணம் என்பது இதனல் புலனுகின்றது.

ஆதி மனுவின் வழியிலே மக்களினம் தோன்றியமையால், மனிதர் என்னும் பெயர் மக்களுக்கு உண்டாயிற்று என்று கூறுவது புராணமரபாகும்[6]. இவ்விரு விளக்கங்களுள் முதலிற்கண்ட விளக்கமே பொருத்தம் உடையதாகத் தோன்றுகிறது.

'மனிதன்' என்னும் சொல் முதன்முதலாகப் பதினெண் கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்களுள் ஒன்றுன 'இனியவை நாற்பதில்' தான் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளது:

நில்லாத காட்சி நிறையில் **மனிதரைப்**
புல்லா விடுதல் இனிது.

(இனி. நா. 26)

மானிடன் என்னும் மற்றேர் சொல்லும் மனிதனைச் சுட்டுவதற்கு வழங்கப் பட்டுவருகிறது. அச்சொல்லும் சங்க நூல்களில் வழங்கப் பெறவில்லை.

மக்கள் காணீர்! **மானிட** யாக்கையர்!

(சிலப். 10:225)

என்று சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலேயே அது முதன்முதலாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. இவற்றுல், அது தமிழ்ச் சொல் அன்று என்பது புலனுகின்றது. 'மானுஷ' அல்லது 'மனுஜ' என்னும் வடமொழிச் சொல்லின் தற்பவமாக, சங்கமருவிய காலத்தில், தமிழ் மொழியில் அச்சொல் வழங்கத் தலைப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும் என்று தோன்றுகிறது.

திருக்குறளில் 'மக்கள்'

திருக்குறளில் மக்கள், மாந்தர் என்னும் சொற்களே 'மனிதர்' என்னும் பொருளில் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. மக்கள் என்னும் சொல்லைப் பிள்ளைகள்[7], வீரர்[8], மனிதர்[9] என்னும் மூவகைப் பொருளில் வள்ளுவர் கையாண்டுள்ளார். அவற்றுள்:

பயனில்சொல் பாராட்டு வானை மகனெனல்
மக்கட் பதடி எனல்.

(குறள் 196)

விலங்கொடு **மக்கள்** அனையர் இலங்குநூல்
கற்றுரோடு ஏனை யவர்.

(குறள் 410)

உரமொருவற் குள்ள வெறுக்கைஅஃ தில்லார்
மரம்மக்க ளாதலே வேறு.

(குறள் 600)

உறுப்பொத்தல் **மக்களொப்பு** அன்றுல் வெறுத்தக்க
பண்பொத்தல் ஒப்பதாம் ஒப்பு.

(குறள் 993)

அரம்போலும் கூர்மைய ரேனும் மரம்போல்வர்
மக்கட்பண்பு இல்லா தவர்.

(குறள் 997)

மக்களே போல்வர் கயவர்

(குறள் 1071)

என்னும் ஆறிடங்களில், மனிதரையே வள்ளுவர் 'மக்கள்' என்னும் சொல்லால் சுட்டுகின்றுர்.

இக்குறட்பாக்களிலிருந்து மனிதனைப்பற்றி வள்ளுவர்கொண்டிருந்த கருத்துகள் சில புலனாகின்றன. 'விலங்குகளிலிருந்து மக்கள் வேறுபட்டவர்; சிறப்புமிக்கவர். மனவுரம் உடையவர்கள் மனிதர். உடலுறுப்புகளால் ஒத்த தன்மையுடையவராகக் காணப்படுவதனாலேயே ''மனிதர்'' என்று அவரை மதித்திடவேண்டாம்; மனிதப் பண்பினால் ஒத்துள்ளவரே மனிதராவர். அரத்தைப் போன்ற கூர்மையான அறிவினை உடையவராக இருப்பதனால்மட்டும் அவரை மனிதர் என்று மதிப்பதில்லை; மக்கள் பண்பு இல்லாதவர் மரத்தினைப் போன்றவராவர். மனித வடிவில்தான் கயவர்களும் உள்ளனர். மனிதராகப் பிறந்த அனைவரும் மனிதர் அல்லர்; அவர்களிடையே ''பதர்''களும் உண்டு' என்பவை வள்ளுவருடைய கருத்துகளாம்.

ஒருவன் பிறப்பால் மனிதனாகத் தோன்றினாலும், அவனிடத்து 'மனிதப் பண்பு' இல்லையானால், அவனை மனிதன் என்று சுட்டுவதைவிட மரம், பதர், கயவன் என்று கூறுவதே பொருந்தும் என்று வள்ளுவர் அறிவுறுத்துவது இங்குக் கருதத்தக்கதாகும். 'அவர், ''மக்கட் பண்பு'' என்று கருதுவது யாது?' என்பதை நாம் அறிவோமானால், அவர் மனிதனுக்குத் தந்துள்ள வரைவிலக்கணம் என்னவென்பதை எளிதில் புரிந்துகொள்ள இயலும். 'பண்புடைமை' என்பது எது என்பதை,

> அன்புடைமை ஆன்ற குடிப்பிறத்தல் இவ்விரண்டும்
> பண்புடைமை என்னும் வழக்கு
>
> (குறள் 992)

என்னும் குறட்பாவில் அவர் தெரிவித்துள்ளார். அன்புடையவன் ஆதலும், நற்பண்புகள் நிறைந்த குடியின்கண் பிறத்தலும் ஆகிய இவ்விரண்டும் பண்புடையவராய் வாழ்வதற்குரிய வழியாகும் என்று நாம் இக்குறட்பாவிற்கு விளக்கம் தரலாம்.

'பண்புடைமை' என்னும் அதிகாரத்தின் தலைப்பிற்குப் பழைய உரையாசிரியர் இருவர் தந்துள்ள விளக்கங்கள் நம்முடைய ஆய்விற்கு ஒளியூட்டும் வகையில் அமைந்துள்ளன.

> அஃதாவது, பெருமை சான்றாண்மைகளில் தாம் வழுவாது நின்றே எல்லார் இயல்புகளும் அறிந்து ஒத்து ஒழுகுதல்; ''பண்பெனப்படுவது பாடறிந்து ஒழுகுதல்'' என்றார் பிறரும்.[10]

என்பது பரிமேலழகர் தந்துள்ள விளக்கமாகும். இதைத் தெளிவுறுத்துகின்ற வகையில் பரிப்பெருமாள் என்னும் உரையாசிரியர்,

> பண்புடைமையாவது யாவர்மாட்டும் அவரோடு ஒத்த அன்பினராய்க் கலந்து ஒழுகுதலும், அவரவர் வருத்தத்திற்குப் பரிதலும், பகுத்து உண்டலும், பழிநாணலும் முதலான நற்குணங்கள் பலவும் உடைமை[11]

என்று மொழிந்துள்ளார்.

இவ்விளக்கங்களைக் கருத்தில்கொண்டு 'மக்கட் பண்பு' என்னும் தொடரை நோக்குவோமானால், சான்றாண்மையின் தூண்களாக வள்ளுவர் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள அன்பு, பழிக்கு அஞ்சும் பண்பு, ஒப்புரவு, கண்ணோட்டம், வாய்மை ஆகிய ஐந்து பண்புகளை யுடையவனையே சிறந்த மனிதனாக அவர் போற்றுவது புலனாகும்.

திருக்குறளில் 'மாந்தர்'

திருவள்ளுவர் 'மாந்தர்' என்னும் சொல்லைப் பின்வரும் குறட்பாக்களில் பயன்படுத்தியுள்ளார்:

> மனத்தது மாசாக மாண்டார்நீ ராடி
> மறைந்தொழுகு மாந்தர் பலர்.
>
> (குறள் 278)

சிறைநலனும் சீரும் இலரெனினும் மாந்தர்
உறைநிலத்தோடு ஒட்டல் அரிது.

(குறள் 499)

எனைவகையான் தேறியக் கண்ணும் வினைவகையான்
வேறாகும் மாந்தர் பலர்.

(குறள் 514)

வெள்ளத் தனைய மலர்நீட்டம் மாந்தர்தம்
உள்ளத் தனையது உயர்வு.

(குறள் 595)

தலையின் இழிந்த மயிரனையர் மாந்தர்
நிலையில் இழிந்தக் கடை.

(குறள் 964)

ஊனுடை எச்சம் உயிர்க்கெல்லாம் வேறல்ல
நாணுடைமை மாந்தர் சிறப்பு.

(குறள் 1012)

இக்குறட்பாக்களில் 'மாந்தர்' என்னும் சொல் மனிதர் என்னும் பொருளிலேயே பொதுவாகப் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. ஓரிடத்தில் மட்டும் (499) 'பகைவர்' என்னும் பொருளில் வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. மனத்தில் வஞ்சனை, சூழ்ச்சி போன்ற மாசினைக் கொண்டு, புறத்தூய்மைக்காக நீராடி ஊரை ஏமாற்றும் மக்களே உலகில் பலராவர். செயலில் ஈடுபடுகின்றபொழுது தம் இயல்பில் மனிதர் பலர் வேறுபடுவர். மக்களுடைய வாழ்வின் உயர்ச்சி, அவர்களுடைய ஊக்கத்தின் அளவினதாகும். தமக்குரிய உயர்ந்த நிலையிலிருந்து மக்கள் இறங்குவார்களானால், தலையிலிருந்து விழுந்த மயிர்போல்வர். உணவும், உடையும், கால்வழியும் மக்கள் அனைவருக்கும் பொது. ஆனால், பழியஞ்சுவது நன்மக்களின் சிறப்பியல்பாகும் என்பன மாந்தரின் இயல்புகளைப் பற்றி வள்ளுவர் தெரிவிக்கும் செய்திகளாகும்.

இக்குறட்பாக்களில் வள்ளுவர் மனித இயற்கையின் போக்கினைக் கோடி காட்டியுள்ளார். மக்கள், மாந்தர் என்னும் இரு சொற்களைப் பயன்படுத்தும் இடங்களில், அவர் பொதுப்படையாகச் சுட்டும் மனிதப் பண்புகள் சிலவற்றை மேலே கண்டோம். இவை மனித இயல்பினை உள்ளவாறு படம்பிடித்துக் காட்டுகின்றன. ஆனால், முழுநிறைவு உடைய மனிதனாக, மனிதன் வாழ வேண்டுமானால், அவனுடைய இயல்புகளும் பண்புகளும் எவ்வாறு அமைய வேண்டும் என்பதைத் திருக்குறளின் பல பகுதிகளில் வள்ளுவர் வரையறுத்துக் கூறுவதைக்கொண்டு, அவர் காணவிரும்பிய மனிதன் எத்தகைய பண்புடையவன் என்பதை அடுத்த பகுதியில் காண்போம்.

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Our Visitors

The Visitors to the Institute during 1972 *are :*

1. Mr. A. R. Thomas, Department of Linguistics, Bangor University, Bangor, U.K., who gave a lecture on ' Dialectology and other Social Disciplines ' under the joint collaboration of the British Council and the Institute.

2. Prof. Dennis Hudson, Department of Religion, Smith College, Northhampton, Mass., University of Massachusetts. USA.

3. Miss Ann Bryan, Jacksonville, Florida, USA.

4. Mr. Peter Granda of American Institute of Indian Studies, Pa.

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I, Dr. K Meenakshisundaram, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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